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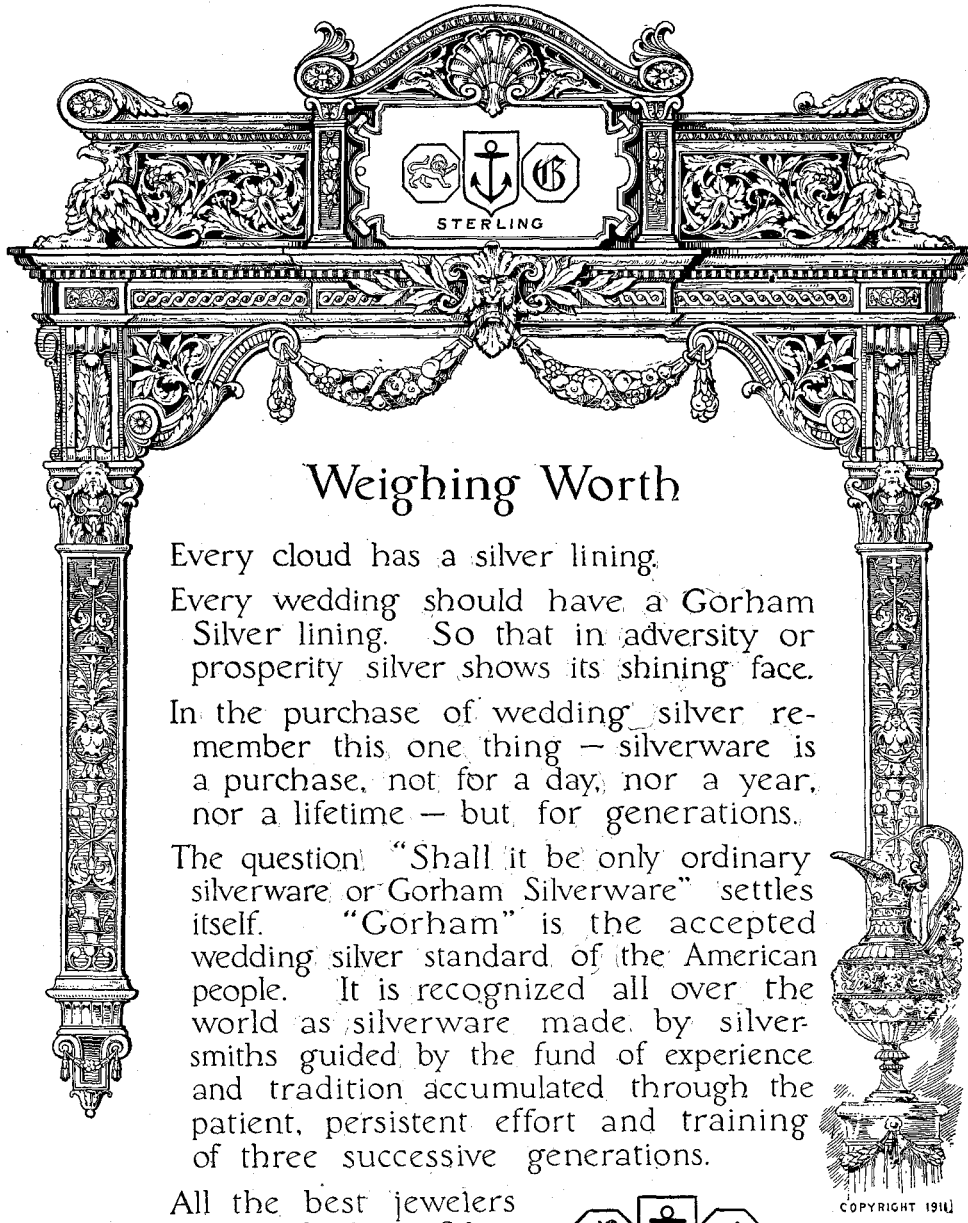

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The Outlook

MAY 20, 1911

LYMAN ABBOTT, Editor-in-Chief. HAMILTON W. MABIE, Associate Editor
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THE MEXICAN PRESIDENCY

Events moved with startling rapidity in Mexico last week. At first the insurgent leader, Madero, seemed inclined to accept President Diaz's manifesto made on May 7, as opening a promising way to peace and harmony. In this declaration to the people of Mexico, President Diaz, after rehearsing the recent course of events and asserting the good will of the Government and its desire "to make ample concession and afford effective guarantees for the early execution of its intentions," argues that it would be impossible for the President of the Republic to resign in the midst of the present difficulties, or even to fix a given date in the future for resignation while "political passions are in effervescence and before order could be established." He adds: "Furthermore, to allow the Presidency of the Republic, the supreme authority in the nation, to become the sport of the will and pleasure of more or less armed groups would not certainly conduce to the restoration of peace, which ever must rest on the respect for law; but, on the contrary, would open a new and most sinister chapter of anarchy in our history, the persistence and consequences of which it would be impossible to foretell." But he makes this concession or pledge:

> The President of the Republic, who thus has the honor of addressing the Mexican people at these solemn moments, will, let there be no doubt, retire from power when his conscience tells him that he can do so without giving over the country to anarchy; and he will then retire in the dignified manner which the nation has a right to expect, and which he himself is entitled to expect as a ruler who has made many mistakes, but who also has fought in defense of his country and has served her with loyal devotion.

No suggestion is made as to the means of bringing about without further bloodshed that condition of peace and order which President Diaz asserts to be necessary before a date for resignation can be fixed; and he even states clearly that, if the peace negotiations fail and war continues, the Government will "redouble its efforts to quell the rebellion." This manifesto is a document of serious import, but while it puts President Diaz on record as being willing to sacrifice his personal hold on the Government, it is vague as to any immediate results.

THE FALL OF JUAREZ

Meanwhile, Madero's soldiers, the armistice having ceased by the expiration of the time for which it had been agreed upon, became impatient to attack the town of Juarez, which they felt to be easy of conquest. A comparatively small body of insurrectos, apparently without any authorization from Madero, attacked the town on May 8, and serious fighting took place in its outskirts. Madero evidently saw that further delay was impossible unless he were to lose entire control of his men, and the following day the entire body of insurrectos, under the leadership of General Orozco, attacked Juarez in earnest and captured the place after two days' irregular but fierce and continuous fighting. The Federal soldiers under General Navarro made a brave defense, but they were only about five hundred in number, and when they were driven to take refuge in an old church, in barracks, and in municipal buildings, it soon became evident that resistance was in vain. General Navarro accordingly on the afternoon of Thursday of last week formally surrendered the place. The revolutionists gained several guns and great stores of ammunition and supplies. They appear to have taken such measures as were possible to restore

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security to the town and to guard places of business. It is impossible to state exactly how great the loss in killed and wounded was on both sides, but it has been placed at as high as three hundred and fifty—probably an exaggeration. All accounts state that the fighting was desperate at many points. The capture of this border town of Juarez, the occupation once more by the insurrectos of Agua Prieta, and the ease with which other border towns may now readily be captured, indicate that for the present at least the revolutionists will be in complete control of the territory adjacent to the American line. Madero's intention is stated to be to move his forces southward, and to meet at some distance from the American border the Federal troops sent against him. His first important step after the triumph of his forces was to announce the appointment of a Cabinet and to organize more formally his provisional government. The two most important members of the Cabinet are Dr. Vasquez Gomez, Minister of Foreign Relations, and Gustave Madero (brother of the "Provisional President"), Minister of Finance. It is stated that efforts will be made to secure from foreign governments the recognition of the insurgents as a belligerent power. Martial law has been proclaimed in Juarez, and it is now crowded with sightseers from over the American line, who view with interest the signs of battle and the extended ruin wrought in the city.

THE UNITED STATES AND MEXICO

Naturally, the people of El Paso, the Texan city which lies just across the Rio Grande from Juarez, were excited and alarmed by the hostilities going on within rifle shot. It was difficult at the end of the week to state positively how much injury was suffered in El Paso itself during the battle. Early despatches asserted that five persons were killed and twelve wounded. American newspapers published what purported to be a despatch from Colonel Steever, of the United States army, to our War Department, which said: "At least four Americans already killed in El Paso. Have sent formal protest to both Madero and Navarro." According to other despatches one woman was killed in her own house in El Paso and several people were slightly wounded. These early statements have not been positively confirmed by later despatches, nor have they been positively contradicted. If further remonstrances have been made from Washington to the Mexican Government as to the necessity of preventing injury to American life and property, such remonstrances had not been made public at the end of the week. Semi-official despatches from Washington stated that President Taft was definitely opposed to any action looking toward intervention or force, and that he believed that the situation near our border line has become less critical, because of the triumph of the insurrectos, than it was before, and that fighting in the danger zone will be, for the present at least, impossible. An excited speech by Senator Stone, of Missouri, urged the United States Senate to adopt a resolution giving the President power to use our troops to protect American life, but later Senator Stone admitted that he had modified his view as to the need of instant radical action. Senator Bacon, of Georgia, declared that to act hastily would endanger Americans all through Mexico, and probably plunge the two nations into war. What is to be done if the insurgent forces are at a later date repulsed and driven southward by the Federal forces no one seems to know. If the reports of the killing and wounding of Americans in El Paso are true, the ineffectiveness of mere remonstrance with the Mexican Government is apparent. In some way a certainty of security for life and property in our own territory must be brought about. The American people have no desire for armed intervention or for rash action of any kind, but they will not be satisfied permanently with paper promises.

THE FREE LIST BILL

Interest in tariff revision now centers in the momentous question as to what the Republican Senate will do with the two tariff measures already passed by the Democratic lower house, one of the measures having been passed by that Democratic body at the urgent suggestion of a Republican President. The Free

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List Bill, which bears the name of its proposer and able exponent in the House, Mr. Underwood, was passed early last week by a vote of 236 to 109. The majority included all of the Democratic Representatives present, supported by twenty-four Republicans and by the one Socialist, Mr. Berger. Most or all of the Republicans who voted for the measure are usually classed as Insurgents. Whatever the Senate may do with the Canadian Reciprocity Bill, the general feeling is that the Free List Bill has little chance of success in the Senate. Vain attempts were made by the minority in the House to gain attention to innumerable amendments proposed. The party machinery worked smoothly, the debate of a week on the bill itself was in the main tedious, and the majority met little serious opposition in its purpose of placing on record through this measure its willingness and desire to accomplish tariff reform downwards of a radical character. Mr. Underwood has disclaimed the idea that his bill could accurately be called "a farmers' bill." Yet it would be hard to point out any principle upon which the measure is constructed if we ignore a particular purpose to give the farmer free of duty things essential to his work and support, and thus in a measure to destroy the force of the feeling entertained by many farmers that Canadian reciprocity bears unfairly upon him as compared with the manufacturer. The fact that the fate of the Free List Bill is more than doubtful has perhaps deterred the dissatisfied farmers from feeling that compensation of practical value has been extended to them. As passed, the bill undoubtedly contains provisions which would reduce prices for the consumer at large as well as for the farmer. It puts on the free list agricultural implements, cotton bagging, hoop iron, wire for baling, hay, straw, and other agricultural products; certain classes of leather used in boots and shoes, barbed fence wire, wire rods, fresh meats of all kinds, buckwheat, corn meal, wheat flour and semolina, rye flour, bran, middlings and other offals of grain; timber, sewing-machines and all parts thereof, and salt. Such a partial free list is not, of course, in the nature of a reduction of the tariff with a view to increasing revenue; on the contrary, it would decrease the revenue by an amount estimated at from five to fifty million dollars. Neither does the bill revise the tariff on Mr. Taft's standard principle of taking into account the difference of cost in production between this and foreign countries. It stands entirely on its own feet as an attempt to make certain necessary articles of consumption cheaper, and thereby, in so far as it goes, to reduce the high cost of living and leave the tariff tax less on necessities and relatively greater on articles of luxury.

THE REAPPORTIONMENT BILL

The House of Representatives has passed the bill providing for a reapportioning of Congressmen in accordance with the population as disclosed by the recent Census. While the measure follows the lines of the one passed by the late Congress, there is a divergence at one important point. The bill passed last winter permitted a reapportionment under the Census of 1910 to be made in each State in any manner lawful in that State—that is, either through the Legislature or, where the initiative has been adopted, through a vote of the people. In States, like Missouri, for instance, where the initiative is in force there was an intention to submit a redistricting bill directly to the voters. The bill passed last week, however, provides that the redistricting in each State must be done by the Legislature. The result will be that the legislators, even in those States where the initiative obtains, may have the power to override the popular will and to make reapportionments as grossly inequitable as those now existing anywhere. The bill changes the present House membership of 391 to 433; thus our increase of population has received official emphasis. The increased number of members, however, in the next Congress will not be as much in evidence as it would be were the present system of seating to be perpetuated, for the desks in the House are to be removed; the result will, we believe, add to the efficiency of the House as a business body. The controlling reason in fixing the membership of the House at 433 has been the fact that a lower number would

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cost certain States one or more Representatives. A ratio of population of 211,877 has been adopted for each Representative, the population of each State being divided by that ratio, and one Representative assigned for each full ratio, and one in addition for each major fraction. By fixing the ratio of population to each Representative at 211,877, the average Congressional district will contain nearly 17,700 more inhabitants than did the average district by the last apportionment act. In the bill as it passed the House in the previous Congress there was a provision for automatic apportionment. It received the support of almost every Democratic member, the Democrats being then in the minority. Now that they are in the majority, they all voted against the provision when it was offered as an amendment to the bill at the present session. We regret that the bill does not contain this provision as well as that authorizing the States to create Congressional districts in any manner they may choose.

NIAGARA IN DANGER AGAIN

The American people have determined that Niagara Falls shall be preserved as one of the scenic wonders of the world. This resolution they have recorded, through the Federal Government, first, in the enactment of the Burton Law restricting the amount of water which may be diverted from the Falls for the generation of power; and, second, in the conclusion of a treaty with Great Britain in which the limitation of the diversion of water from the Falls both in Canada and the United States is mutually agreed upon. The Burton Act restricts the diversion to 15,600 cubic feet per second, and also restricts the importation of electric power from Canada to 160,000 electrical horsepower. The treaty extends these limits to 20,000 cubic feet per second on the American side and 36,000 cubic feet per second on the Canadian side. The Burton Act expires by limitation on June 29 next. Unless some further legislation is enacted, the provisions of the treaty will be the only limitations upon the diversion of water from the Falls. The Chief of Engineers of the United States Army, as the result of a two years' survey by army engineers of conditions in the Niagara River and adjacent waters, in 1909 declared that "as a whole the Falls have unquestionably been seriously injured by the diversions already made. Additional diversions, now under way, will add to the damage." This is the expert opinion of impartial and unprejudiced engineers. The American people, who in a matter of this sort obviously cannot make their own observations and draw their own conclusions, could have no better authority on which to base their judgment. There are before Congress two measures dealing with this matter. The one provides that the limitations on diversion shall, during the life of the treaty, be those which have been in force for the last five years under the Burton Act. The other provides that the only limitations upon diversion shall be those written in the treaty, and that there shall be no limitation on the importation of electric power from Canada. If the American people do not wish that the serious injury to the Falls reported by the Chief of Engineers should be largely increased, they should bring every pressure to bear upon Congress to re-enact the provisions of the Burton Act. It is asserted on behalf of one of the American power companies that, in order to avail itself to the full of investments made before the movement for the restriction of diversion was begun, it must be allowed to divert approximately 2,000 cubic feet per second more than it is at present permitted to use. If any bill were before Congress to permit additional diversion only to the extent of this 2,000 cubic feet, it would be quite a different matter. But at present there are only two alternatives before Congress—one to continue the present limitations and the other to make possible the diversion of nearly seventy per cent more water than is now being diverted. In view of these conditions and of the great importance of the preservation of Niagara Falls as a scenic asset, The Outlook believes that the interests of the power company in question ought not to be allowed to interfere with the re-enactment of the Burton Law. The interests of the whole country are greater than the interests of any single concern. If the American people have not wavered in their resolution to preserve

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Niagara, they should see to it that Congress passes the Burton Bill.

THE STRIKE AT GRAND RAPIDS

In Grand Rapids, Michigan, all winter long trouble was brewing between employers and employees. At last in April there came a strike. From four to six thousand workmen laid down their tools and declared industrial war. The name of Grand Rapids is familiar as that of a center of furniture manufacture. The workmen there, largely of Dutch origin, are a sturdy, thrifty people. For years they were opposed to labor unions. They have, however, come to recognize the value of organization, and particularly during the past year were converted to the cause of the labor unions to a degree not realized by the manufacturers. As the cause of the unions made progress, the employers made resistance by a concerted effort to avoid any recognition of the union, or to deal with the workmen other than as individuals. This issue with regard to the recognition of the union was distinctly raised when the various requests of the labor organizations culminated in the demand of a ten per cent increase in wages and decrease in working hours. The manufacturers cited the records of factories to show that in the last decade there had been a great increase in wages, and further increase could not be arbitrarily made without danger to the industry. The workers had to be content with generalized statements, as they had no records from which to cite opposing evidence. These statements were called forth by a commission of five representative citizens. After the findings were made public, the workmen gathered in a mass-meeting and (contrary, it is said, to the advice of some of their leaders) voted to strike. The situation has been that of a real industrial war, with some violence. All the factories have been picketed. The Mayor of the city is reported to have explained to the Board of Police and Fire Commissioners that the labor union pickets have proved to be more of an aid in preventing than in provoking disorder, and as a consequence the Board has refused to disperse them. The whole city has been suffering from this conflict. The manufacturers, of course, feel the injury to their business; the workmen, as always in such cases, are facing a more serious injury in loss of their wages; but a far larger number of non-participants than these feel the evil consequences. This strike illustrates the failure of our government, National, State, municipal, to provide adequate and mandatory means of settling industrial disputes without resort to the methods of war. The public are the chief sufferers, and should demand, first, that more civilized methods be used to settle disputes when disputes arise, and, second, that such social and industrial conditions be created that disputes shall be reduced to a minimum.

OKLAHOMA'S BANK GUARANTY LAW

After three years of experience with a compulsory bank guaranty deposit law, Oklahoma finds itself much concerned with its operation. A few weeks ago the United States Supreme Court decided that the State had the right to adopt such a statute, and in effect authorized the commonwealth, if it saw fit, to force every State bank to pay assessments to make good the losses in failed institutions. This Oklahoma has been doing. An investigation by the State Bankers' Association is reported to show that $878,352 has been needed in the three years for use in the guaranty fund, and that now, with another large bank in the receiver's hands, there must be further assessment to supply the need of an empty treasury. So strenuously do the bankers object to this that, though at the beginning seventy National banks took State charters, now fifty have applications pending for new charters as National banks. They declare that, except in sporadic instances, the operation of the new law has not affected the deposits of the Nationals. Indeed, at the latest statement they showed larger gains than did the State banks. They point out that with an assessment of one per cent on the deposits, as is now proposed, a bank with $10,000 capital and $100,000 deposits would pay ten per cent of its entire investment, wiping out a year's earnings. The claim that the law has encouraged reckless banking seems to be justified in

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some instances. One failure of $600,000 revealed bad management and the manipulation of the guaranty fund in a way that endangered the entire surplus. Other failures have been of banks in which part of the fund was invested, thus throwing a double burden upon the sound banks. Ten banks have been recipients of the fund, which now has a balance of $36,292. Altogether the Oklahoma law appears to have many weaknesses and is receiving severe criticisms at the hands of those most interested in it. In the Legislatures of several States of the Northwest and Middle West during the past winter there have been proposed deposit guaranty laws, but none has been enacted into statute. Nebraska, Texas, Kansas, and Oklahoma are alone in trying the experiment. Kansas's law is voluntary, and less than half the State banks have assumed its provisions. Texas has two optional forms, and the bankers of that State are divided in their opinions of its workings. Nebraska's law was not put in operation until after the recent Supreme Court decision, so that it is too early to see its effect in that commonwealth. The principle of the bank guaranty has never appealed to the financial judgment of those who believe in individuality in business affairs. With the human factor eager to take advantage of opportunity, efforts to trade upon its provisions are inevitable. This has in more than one instance already been manifest. Only combined with such stringent examinations as would make rascality practically unknown, and with powers to assist the weak bank when circumstances justify, could it hope to maintain permanency. Neither of these conditions has yet been attained fully by States that have adopted the plan. Oklahoma seems to be least successful in establishing confidence.

PROPER TREATMENT FOR CAR ROWDIES

Alexander Hamilton, in the thick of the debate on the kind of government which should be adopted in this country, presented a very clear and carefully prepared statement of the extent of lawlessness in the colonies as a basis for his appeal for a strong government. Impatience with restraint has always been the most obvious fault of the American people; and the loafer and the rowdy are the by-products of this large element of lawlessness in our population. The loafer looks to the community for his support; the rowdy looks to the community for exemption from the law. One makes idleness his profession; the other makes lawbreaking his occupation. With the return of the open-air season and excursions of all kinds from New York the rowdy promptly puts in his appearance. His specialty in the way of making himself a nuisance is to take possession of surface or subway trains, especially at late hours of the night, when honest men and decent women are returning from excursions from the country or are going home from meetings in the city. He amuses himself by insulting the women and terrorizing the men; and, as a rule, he escapes entirely from the clutches of the police; or, if he is "run in," he is let off with a sentence so mild that he regards it as a moderate payment for the fun he has had. So the reign of the rowdy has been almost undisturbed in the region of the metropolis for many summers past. Magistrate Connolly has rudely disturbed the prerogative of the rowdy, and deserves, and will receive, the cordial approval and the appreciative thanks of all peaceful citizens. On a recent Sunday evening seven rowdies were arrested on the arrival of an evening train in Flushing, a suburb of New York City. They were brought before Magistrate Connolly, who promptly sentenced two to a reformatory for terms of three years, released on high bail two who were immediately taken to the county seat for trial on charges of assault, sent two to jail pending sentence, and held the others for further examination. This treatment is likely to open the eyes of those marauders of the public peace who, wherever they appear, singly or in droves, ought to be promptly arrested and sent to jail for as long terms as the law allows. There is no other way of reaching the rowdy except to put him behind prison bars. This alone will convey to his reason the fact that in the United States women cannot be insulted with impunity, nor can the safety of passengers in railway trains be threatened without invoking prompt and condign punishment. Every railway manager and every car conductor will welcome the

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co-operation of the police, and the police, with the backing of the magistrates, will not be slow to "run in" these cheap and cowardly ruffians who have terrorized innocent Sunday excursionists and made themselves a nuisance to travelers in and out of New York City.

TWO ACTIVITIES IN MUNICIPAL ART

In every community there is ample scope for two differing municipal art activities: the one spontaneous and unofficial, the other prescribed and official. New York City affords a good example of this. It has a Municipal Art Society, and it also has an Art Commission. The Municipal Art Society was organized in 1892, to promote the advancement of municipal art in such departments as city planning, city transportation, parks and playgrounds, flowers and area planting, public monuments, exhibitions, school decorations and conveniences. The Outlook has repeatedly commended the Society's work, particularly its admirable plan of setting aside each year a portion of its income for an important gift to the municipality. The Society was the first organization in the United States to develop a city's interest other than on commercial lines. Its success has stimulated the formation of similar organizations from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and it is thus largely responsible for the popular interest in civic art, now gratifyingly manifest throughout the country. In contradistinction to the Society's very large membership, the Art Commission of New York City has a small membership—composed of the Mayor, the Presidents of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the New York Public Library, and the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences; together with one painter, one sculptor, and one architect, all residents of the city; finally, three other residents, *none* of whom shall be a painter, sculptor, or architect, or member of any other profession in the fine arts! All of the six last mentioned are appointed by the Mayor from a list proposed by the Fine Arts Federation of New York. The Art Commission serves without compensation. Its function is, first of all, to pass upon any works expected to become the property of the city by purchase or gift; second, to pass upon the proposed location of such works of art; third, to pass upon the designs of buildings, bridges, approaches, gates, or other structures to be erected upon lands belonging to the city. It will thus be seen that there is ample scope for the activities of both societies in one community.

CARDINAL GIBBONS'S JUBILEE

Cardinal Gibbons was the central figure at a very interesting function at the Catholic Club of New York City in honor of the fiftieth anniversary of his ordination and the twenty-fifth of his elevation to the Cardinalate. One of the members of the Club who was present recalled the fact that the Cardinal's mother brought him as a baby in arms to the house of a friend, and said, with great pride, "James was born in America, and so some day he may be President of the United States." He has not achieved that distinction, but he has achieved the distinction of being the second American Cardinal to be created, and of having secured in this country a position of great honor and respect. He is also a man of unusual wisdom and charming tact. An ecclesiastic of his rank lives in a country which does not understand to any great extent the etiquette of his position; and the skill and tact with which he has met the difficulties and perplexities of that position have long been a matter of observation and admiration. His address at the Catholic Club was characteristic of the man. It was the address, not only of a devout Catholic, but of a thoroughgoing American; and the democratic note was sounded in his tribute to the laity of the Catholic Church. He declared that the most luminous periods of the Church's history have been conspicuous by reason of the laymen who have vindicated the cause of Christianity by their words and their lives. "The golden age of Christianity," he said, "gave birth to a long line of learned and intrepid lay apologists of the faith." He enumerated a number of distinguished men of the nineteenth century who, in all parts of Europe, had borne witness to the truth as they held it with impressive ability and force of character. Two paramount principles, he declared, should govern the Catholic

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Club: loyalty to country and devotion to religion. Every member, he said, is a patriot; no man should be a drone in the social beehive; no man should be an indifferent spectator of the moral, political, and economic questions which affect the welfare of the commonwealth, and all should be united in upholding those charged with its administration. We have here, he continued, no State Church, but there is no antagonism between Church and State. On the contrary, our civil and spiritual rulers mutually support one another.

GRADUATION ESSAYS DRAMATIZED

Every year Hampton Institute celebrates its anniversary by public exercises in which the students take part. In this respect it is like other institutions; but the exercises themselves are not of the traditional sort. The Negro and Indian students of this great school have been trained not merely by the study of books, the recitation of lessons, and the hearing of lectures, or even the experiments of the laboratory, but by accurate, useful, productive work. It has been Hampton Institute's distinction to embody with great consistency the idea that in formal education, as elsewhere in life, one learns best through the double process of practice and theory. So much of the instruction given to-day is through words, printed or written or spoken, that we have forgotten how much of the most successful education in past generations was through the direct process of doing things. Hampton has succeeded in making the doing of things take its place alongside of the study about things. It is natural that this characteristic of Hampton education should show itself at the anniversary exercises. This year, at these exercises, which were held during the last week in April, members of the trade class delivered their essays in part by words, but also in part by means of wood and brick, of paint and leather, of metal and plaster, of hammer and saw. One student, a candidate for the painters' certificate, had beside him on the platform a wheel. He had prepared this wheel in sections of two spokes each. The first two spokes, he explained, had been left as they had been finished by the wheelwrights. The other spokes, by twos in succession, had been primed, glazed, coated with body color, covered with the second coat, coated with a mixture of paint and varnish and striped, and covered with varnish. He explained the reason for each step. Other members of the class, in fact about thirty out of the total number of fifty-three, appeared on a large revolving platform, and delivered their essays by engaging in the work of shingling a roof, nailing on weather-boards, house-painting, tailoring, repairing shoes, applying plaster, brick-laying, making a picture frame, running a lathe and a printing-press, making a railway hand truck, tiring a wheel, installing a bath-tub, and wiping lead joints. What does all this mean to these students? Perhaps some hint of an answer may be had from what a Zulu prince, who has learned at Hampton to be a wheelwright, said in the course of his address as class president: "The lesson that we have learned here at Hampton is not only to see how many dollars and cents will come to us a day at our trade, to use our trade for ourselves individually, but to use our skill and knowledge in helping others. Yesterday we were responsible only for ourselves; now we are responsible for every human being, whether black or white or red. . . . Our intellect has been developed in the shop as well as in the class-room. Our instructors have held us right to the mark and made us make the best use of our thought. Punctuality, carefulness, industry, and honesty are some of the qualities the trade school has developed in us. . . . To-day you will find Hampton students scattered all over the country, sowing seeds of kindness, and helping those that cannot help themselves. I hope to carry these seeds to those forgotten children of South Africa to whom I belong." Some day, we hope, white boys and girls all over the United States will have a chance to have the kind of training that is now enjoyed by the red and the black boys and girls at Hampton.

A CONSERVATIVE PROPOSAL TO REVOLUTIONIZE THE HOUSE OF LORDS

There is remarkable unanimity of opinion in Great Britain on the proposition that the House of Lords must be reformed. But on

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the question of the shape that the reform shall take there is wide divergence of opinion between the political parties. The Liberal party, with its Labor and Nationalist allies, would radically modify the relation between the two houses of Parliament and put strict limitations on the veto power of the House of Lords. The Conservative party would leave the relations of the two houses as they are, but largely alter the basis of membership of the upper chamber. Lord Lansdowne, the leader of the Conservative party in the House of Lords, introduced last week the bill containing the Opposition's plan of reform. The provisions of the bill are more radical than any one had expected; the changes which the bill would make in the constitution of the upper chamber are little short of revolutionary. The House of Lords is at present composed of five hundred and eighty-five hereditary peers, three princes of the blood royal, two archbishops, twenty-four bishops, and four law lords. The Lansdowne Bill would substitute for this body of over six hundred legislators a House of three hundred and fifty members. This membership would be composed of three main classes. The telegraphic reports which have been received of the provisions of the bill are not of the clearest, but the character of these three classes is apparently as follows: First, one hundred Lords of Parliament elected by the entire hereditary peerage from among those of their own number who possess certain qualifications, such as being present or former viceroys, governors, privy councilors, members of the House of Commons, diplomats, naval and military officials, members of civil service departments, Lord Mayors, etc. Second, one hundred and twenty Lords of Parliament to be elected from outside the hereditary peerage by an electoral college composed of members of the lower house, and to represent large electoral districts specially created for the purpose. Third, one hundred Lords of Parliament to be appointed by the Crown on the recommendation of the Cabinet. In addition to these three categories the House would include the princes of the blood royal, two archbishops, five bishops, instead of twenty-four as at present, and sixteen law lords. The change from a chamber in which all but the merest sprinkling of members hold their places by hereditary right is startling. The Lansdowne plan not only does away with the immemorial principle that the possession of a hereditary English peerage entitles the holder to a seat in the upper house of Parliament, but it establishes the principle that no holder of a hereditary peerage, unless he possess certain other specified qualifications, is even eligible for election to the upper chamber. This provision, coupled with the introduction of an entirely new element in the members elected from outside the peerage, would make the House of Lords a far different thing from the body of feudal lords which England has known for centuries. Just what alteration the Lansdowne plan would make in the partisan complexion of the House of Lords can hardly be more than a matter of conjecture. Lord Lansdowne himself, however, is reported to have declared that the Conservative majority in the reconstituted House would not be likely to exceed eighteen. The Conservative majority in the present House of Lords is three or four hundred. The Lansdowne plan is of the greatest importance and interest as showing how far the Conservative party has gone in the year and a half since the House of Lords arrogantly rejected the Lloyd-George Budget, and as offering a basis for negotiation between the two parties at such time in the future as the question of the reform of the constitution of the House of Lords becomes a matter of practical politics.

THE LIBERAL BILL FOR CURTAILING THE POWER OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS

The Lansdowne Bill is interesting as showing what the Conservatives would be willing to do if they had the power. But of more immediate interest is what the Liberal Government, which for the moment has the power, is actually doing. The Conservatives would solve the problem of the relation between the two houses of Parliament by making the upper house a smaller, more popular and less unchangeably Conservative body. The Liberals are taking the first step towards solving the problem by curtailing the power of the House of Lords. The Government's proposals are contained in

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the Parliament Bill which is well on its way through the House of Commons, and which will probably have been passed and sent to the House of Lords before this issue of The Outlook reaches its readers. The preamble to the bill contains a declaration that the House of Lords must be reconstituted, but that the time for such a reconstitution has not yet come. The Government therefore is not prepared even to consider the Lansdowne or any other plan for remaking the House of Lords until it has brought into effect the other provisions of the Parliament Bill. These provisions are mainly two: First, the House of Commons shall be supreme in the enactment of money bills. The House of Lords shall have power neither to reject nor to amend any bill which, in the judgment of the Speaker of the House of Commons (who, it must be remembered, is an impartial presiding officer, and not, like the Speaker of our House of Representatives, a party leader), falls into the category of money bills as defined in the Parliament Bill. Second, any measure which shall have been passed by the House of Commons at three sessions during a period of not less than two years shall, upon the assent of the Crown being given, become law, even though the House of Lords shall have refused to pass the measure each time it has been presented to it. The first provision will make it impossible for the House of Lords to deal with any financial measure as it did with the Lloyd-George Budget. The second provision will insure that the popular will, as represented in the House of Commons, shall be enacted into law in spite of the opposition of the House of Lords, provided the majority in the House of Commons remain committed to the measure for three sessions covering at least two years. This provision is intended to remove the chief quarrel which the Liberal, Labor, and Nationalist parties have with the House of Lords as at present constituted. The upper chamber is overwhelmingly Conservative. It has continually been used to put an insuperable obstacle in the way of important Liberal legislation, while it has offered no obstacle at all to important Conservative legislation. The condition has been aptly expressed by one of the Liberal leaders: "When the Conservatives are in power, there is no House of Lords; when the Liberals are in power, there is no House of Commons." This condition has become intolerable to the Liberals; and, reinforced by success in two general elections within a year, they have introduced the Parliament Bill to do away with this inequality between the parties. The bill has gone steadily on its way through the House of Commons practically without amendment, the Government holding its Coalition majority intact at every step. If, when the bill goes to the House of Lords, it is rejected, the Prime Minister will ask the King to agree to create a sufficient number of Liberal peers to "swamp" the House and provide a Liberal majority there for the passage of the measure. This crude and cumbrous method is the only one known to the British Constitution for solving a deadlock between the two houses of Parliament. It is the method which was used to enact the Reform Bill of 1832, in that case the mere threat to create peers sufficing to bring the House of Lords to terms. It is commonly reported that the King, before the last general election, gave to the Prime Minister the guarantees that he asked for, that peers would be created if necessary to pass the Parliament Bill. The steady progress of the bill through the House of Commons and the harmonious and united attitude of the Coalition forces give strong color to this report. Apparently the veto power of the House of Lords will be taken away before many months have passed. The Government is then pledged to proceed to the consideration of legislation providing Home Rule for Ireland. There seems little likelihood that the Lansdowne plan and whatever plan the Liberals may propose in order to carry out the pledge of the preamble of the Parliament Bill will receive serious consideration until the question of Home Rule has had its day.

THE HARTFORD SCHOOL OF MISSIONS

The same intentness on better efficiency and economy that modern industrial enterprises show is shown in the missionary enterprise of the Church. The lead in this has been taken

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by the Hartford (Conn.) Theological Seminary, a leader years ago in the introduction of modern educational principles, and in instituting a Department of Missions. Already have British missionaries been drawn to Hartford for courses not to be found in Europe, in which some of the ablest among recent missionaries to Mohammedan countries have been prepared for their field. Every foreign field has its peculiar problems, for which special preparation is requisite. There is also an impressive list of important general subjects in which the ordinary missionary requires a better preparation than is given where he studies. To mention but two, there are, first, the more rapid and accurate acquisition of new languages that is facilitated by the improved science of phonetics, and, last, but not least, an indoctrination into practical business methods that facilitate the handling of multitudinous small details. To meet broadly and efficiently all such general and special requirements for proper coping with the exigencies of missionary work the Hartford School of Missions has been organized. At its head is the President of the Seminary, Dr. Mackenzie, who was Chairman of the International Commission on the Preparation of Missionaries that reported at the Edinburgh Conference last summer. Edward Warren Capen, Ph.D., who was associated with Dr. Mackenzie in that Commission after two years' study of the foreign field, is its Organizing Secretary. Its interdenominational character is conspicuous in its staff of lecturers. Its student body will show it to be international. It is open to men and women who are appointees or candidates of mission boards, to graduates of colleges and professional schools expecting to become missionaries, and to missionaries at home on furlough. To missionaries not theologically trained, and specially intending educational, medical, or industrial work, it offers the instruction in the Bible and in Christian doctrine that qualifies them to share in the spiritual work of their associates. Its distinctive feature is in its primary purpose to furnish in a special course of study opportunity for a year of graduate work by those who have completed the usual preparation for the missionary field. That three of Hartford's leading physicians and surgeons are among its instructors shows that physical as well as spiritual interests are provided for. The faculties of the Seminary and of its affiliated School of Religious Pedagogy are also at the service of the School of Missions. This newest of Hartford's educational institutions, warmly welcomed by the great missionary boards, opens next September.

ARMENIAN PRISONERS IN THE CAUCASUS

On the 6th of April the relatives of fifty Armenians who have been awaiting trial nearly four years in the Caucasian prison of Novocherkassk sent the following urgent telegram to M. Shcheglovitof, the Russian Minister of Justice in St. Petersburg:

> There is a terrible epidemic of typhus fever in the Novocherkassk prison. Among those sick with the disease are the prison surgeon, twenty-two other prison officials, and more than one hundred prisoners. The sanitary condition of the prison is frightful. It was built to accommodate two hundred and fifty prisoners, and it now contains more than eight hundred. Among them are fifty Armenians, who are accused of belonging to the political party known as the "Dashnaktsutiun," and who have already been in close confinement from three to four years, awaiting trial. The health of all is seriously impaired, and many of them are suffering from tuberculosis, rheumatism, neurasthenia, or diseases of the eyes or heart. They are all liable to take typhus, and they are so reduced in strength by years of imprisonment that there is little chance of their living through an attack of that disease. In view of these facts, we most respectfully beg your High Excellency to have these accused Armenians released on bail until the Government is ready to try them. Their relatives are literally almost insane with anxiety, apprehension, and grief. We implore your High Excellency to release these prisoners and allow them to rejoin their suffering wives and children. Nearly all of them have families, and among them are many educated men, including three surgeons and a number of school-teachers.

Official reports show that the petitioners in this case did not exaggerate the unsanitary condition of the Novocherkassk prison. One of the medical inspectors of the city, who visited it early in March, described it as follows:

> The cells of the prison are impossibly overcrowded, and the atmosphere in them is fetid and suffocating. Wooden excrement buckets (*parashas*) stand on the floors day and night, poisoning air that is already foul,

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and side by side with them, in many of the cells, are the uncovered wooden tubs that contain the supply of drinking-water. The prisoners' underclothing is in the highest degree filthy, and is changed only once in three weeks. They have not had a bath in a month. There are one hundred and one patients in the hospital, and, judging from the statements of the surgeon and the curves of the temperature charts, eighty of them have relapsing typhus.

And in such prisons as this hundreds of Armenians, many of them possibly innocent even of political crime, have been held nearly four years without trial!

CONDITIONS OF IMPRISONMENT

In September last Mr. S. Khrouleff, Chief of the Russian Prison Administration, who was then attending the meeting of the International Prison Congress in Washington, gave out an interview in which he said: "As long as the weather permits, all Russian convicts are employed in agricultural work, either on Government farms or on private estates. . . . The very healthful life which prisoners lead during the summer and fall, spending their days, as they do, in the open, makes up for the restricted space placed at their disposition in the winter; and hospital statistics are very encouraging. . . . All illiterate prisoners are taught to read and write; special courses of instruction are held in all prisons; and almost every institution has a good library." (New York "Times," September 18, 1910.) Every one who knew anything about Russian prisons was well aware that Mr. Khrouleff's statements were conscious, willful, and shameless misrepresentations, and since that time they have been contradicted, not only by medical inspectors, prison surgeons, and municipal sanitary officials in all parts of the Empire, but by an ex-chief of the very Ministry in which Mr. Khrouleff is employed. In a debate on the prison estimates in the Council of the Empire, on the 10th of April, V. I. Karpof, one of the supporters of the Government, contended that imprisonment in Russia was losing its adequacy as a punishment, for the reason that the prisons were becoming desirable places of refuge for certain classes of the population. In replying to Mr. Karpof, his Excellency S. S. Manukhin, ex-Minister of Justice, said: "The assertion that the prisons are too good, and the conditions of imprisonment too luxurious, is a new contention in Russia—a discovery never before made—and I must decline to accept it. Dozens of commissions, and dozens of councils in which I myself participated, have unanimously agreed that our prisons are bad, and are in need of improvement. No one who has ever visited a Russian prison, breathed its vitiated air, and tried its food can possibly maintain that Russian prisoners are well cared for or well fed." Mr. Khrouleff himself, when he writes for Russians who know the facts, makes statements that are wholly inconsistent with those contained in his American interview. In a circular letter sent to governors and prefects, in April, he calls attention to the bad sanitary condition of the prisons, and says: "Notwithstanding the instructions issued repeatedly by the Prison Administration with regard to cleanliness, many of the prisons show no improvement whatever. Now, as heretofore, there is great disorder; the cells are not properly ventilated; the prisoners' underclothing is infrequently changed and carelessly washed; the quantity of soap issued is insufficient; the prisoners are not given outdoor exercise at stated hours; and no measures whatever are taken for the destruction of insects in the cells. As a result of these unsanitary conditions the number of cases of tuberculosis has increased, and in certain prisons there have been serious outbreaks of typhus." For this state of affairs Mr. Khrouleff suggests no remedy other than disciplinary pressure to be brought to bear upon prison officials by the governors and prefects to whom his circular letter is addressed, and an increase in the quantity of soap to be issued for bath and laundry purposes. Heretofore prisoners have had fourteen cents' worth of soap a year per capita. Mr. Khrouleff now proposes to give them twenty cents' worth, which would amount to a soap allowance of about four-tenths of a cent a week per man. In such a prison as that of Novocherkassk, where the prisoners do not change their underclothing oftener than once in three weeks, and do not bathe oftener than once a month, this increased soap allowance may be fairly adequate; but it can hardly be

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regarded in the light of a great reform. What Russian prisons need is fewer occupants—not more soap. If the Government would stop arresting politicals on suspicion and holding them four years without trial, it would not be obliged to put eight hundred and fifty prisoners into a building intended for two hundred and fifty, and would not be compelled to imperil the financial solvency of the Empire by increasing the soap allowance to half a cent a week.

THE ARBITRATION TREATY WITH GREAT BRITAIN

Covenants for arbitration, that is, arbitration treaties, between nations must, until some form of effective international police force is devised, depend for their value mainly upon the degree of civilization achieved by the contracting powers. Arbitration treaties with, or between, communities in a low state of development, at the best represent little real advance, and at the worst may represent positive harm; because they may tend to distract the minds of good people from methods by which genuine service could be rendered the peoples in question. The action of the United States in taking charge of the custom-houses in San Domingo, allotting the government part of the proceeds and reserving the rest for the benefit of the creditors, has conferred, from the standpoint of peace no less than from the standpoint of justice, a thousand times more benefit upon San Domingo than has been conferred upon the Central American republics by the building of a peace palace and by nominally securing among themselves arbitration agreements. The actual result in San Domingo was to bring a greatly increased measure of peace, justice, and prosperity; while the actual result in Central America has been either absolutely nil or possibly even the working of some small detriment by distracting men's minds from the fundamental fact that what is there needed is order and justice within the boundaries of each of the several States—imposed partly from without, if it proves impossible to get it wholly from within.

Between Great Britain and the United States it is now safe to have a universal arbitration treaty, because the experience of ninety-six years has shown that the two nations have achieved that point of civilization where each can be trusted not to do to the other any one of the offenses which ought to preclude any self-respecting nation from appealing to arbitration. But no language should be used in the treaty which would tend to obscure this cardinal fact, this cardinal reason why the treaty is possible and desirable. Among private individuals the man who, if his wife is assaulted and has her face slapped, will go to law about it, instead of forthwith punishing the offender, would be regarded with derision. The reason why, in moderately civilized communities, it is not necessary to say that a man reserves to himself the right to assault any one who in his presence slaps his wife's face is the simple fact that in no such community is it now possible to imagine such action occurring. But to require any public official, or private citizen who takes an oath to obey the laws of the land, to include in that oath the specific statement that if his wife's face were slapped he would not do anything other than bring suit, would be rather worse than an absurdity. In just the same way, the United States ought never specifically to bind itself to arbitrate questions respecting its honor, independence, and integrity. Either it should be tacitly understood that the contracting powers no more agree to surrender their rights on such vital matters than a man in civil life agrees to surrender the right of self-defense; or else it should be explicitly stated that, because of the fact that it is now impossible for either party to take any action infringing the honor, independence, and integrity of the other, we are willing to arbitrate all questions.

Hypocrisy never pays, in the long run. Even if the indifference of the majority of the Nation should permit a specific agreement to be made to arbitrate such vital questions, that same majority would promptly (and quite properly) repudiate the agreement the moment that it became necessary to enforce it. No self-respecting nation, no nation worth calling a nation, would ever in actual practice consent to surrender its rights in such matters. Take this very case of the agreement between Great Britain and ourselves. Thank

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Heaven! it is now impossible—and I use the word literally—that there shall ever be war between the English-speaking peoples. The events of the last ninety-six years have shown this to be the fact, and year by year the feeling between them has grown better and the determination to settle every dispute by amicable and honorable agreement based on mutual respect and consideration has become more fixed. But this is because of the attitude adopted by both during the ninety-six years. Go back a little over a century and conditions are wholly different. If Great Britain now started to exercise the right of search as she exercised it a hundred years ago, with its incidents of killing peaceful fishermen within the limits of New York Harbor, of kidnapping sailors by violence on the high seas, of ruining merchants through no fault of their own, of firing on American men-of-war and killing men aboard them—why! if any such incident occurred at present, this country would fight at the drop of the hat, and any man who proposed to arbitrate such a matter would be tossed contemptuously out of the popular path. The reason we can now afford to have a general arbitration treaty is that such incidents are no longer possible. As long as they were possible, an arbitration treaty would have been impossible, because they were matters which no self-respecting nation would arbitrate. This is a fact which can be tacitly ignored only as long as it is tacitly accepted. Any language which specifically attempted to deny its existence would be thoroughly unfortunate, because it would mean either that this Nation was taking an ignoble position because it had an ignoble spirit, or else that it was hypocritical, pretending to enter into an obligation which in actual practice, if the strain came, it would not for one moment carry out.

As regards Great Britain, the matter is academic, simply because there is no possibility in actual fact of the occasion arising which would make it necessary to try to carry out the unwise obligation. But we should be very cautious of entering into a treaty with any nation, however closely knit to us, the form of which it would be impossible to follow in making treaties with other great civilized and friendly nations. For instance, at this very time Mexico has been engaged for some months in civil war, one of the incidents of which has been the repeated military invasion of our territory. Again and again armed bodies of Mexican troops have fired across the boundary and killed or wounded American citizens. In this case we have chosen to submit to such invasions, as is our right and privilege if we so desire. But it would be absolutely intolerable to bind ourselves to arbitrate the questions raised by such invasions. If, for instance, instead of its being Mexican troops firing into our inland towns and killing our citizens, it happened to be an English or a German or a Japanese fleet which, not once but again and again, fired into our coast towns, killing and wounding citizens, this Nation would immediately demand, not arbitration, but either atonement or war. In the same way, if a dispute arose between us and another nation as to whether we should receive enormous masses of immigrants whom we did not desire from that nation, no one who knows anything of the temper of the American people would dream that they would for one moment consent to arbitrate the matter. In such a case we should say that our honor, our independence, our integrity, and our very National existence were involved, and that we could not submit such a question to arbitration.

Let the treaty either keep silent entirely about such questions, it being tacitly but with entire clearness understood that of course the two contracting parties do not surrender those rights which lie at the foundation of all that makes national life worth having, or else let it make use of a preamble which will show that they agree to arbitrate all things only because certain things have now become unthinkable and impossible. But the treaty should make no explicit declaration of a kind which would brand us with cowardice if we did live up to it, and with hypocrisy and bad faith if we did not live up to it. Also, it is well to remember that as there is not the slightest conceivable danger of war between Great Britain and the United States, the arbitration treaty would have no effect whatever upon the armaments in either country.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

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THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON

Colonel Higginson, who died at his home in Cambridge, Massachusetts, last week, in his eighty-eighth year, was a New Englander of the New Englanders. In the biographical encyclopædias appear the names of members of this family of every generation from the earliest Colonial days to the time of the distinguished and tireless writer whose career has just ended. Colonel Higginson had the New England alertness of mind, the New England passion for the betterment of society, the eager New England interest in all things intellectual and ethical, and a touch of the New England critical instinct. He was a man of constructive temper, a born idealist and optimist. The title of one of his books of autobiography, "Cheerful Yesterdays," was significant of his character and mind; but his touch on his contemporaries was sometimes so keen that it seemed to have a little edge of personal feeling. His personality found expression in many directions. A graduate of Harvard and of Harvard Theological School, he was for a number of years a Unitarian minister. He was also an Abolitionist of a most pronounced and militant type; and there was hardly a reform in an age of ethical unrest which he did not espouse. When the Civil War came, he had command of the first Negro regiment in the Federal army; and no appeal to him from any quarter for social and moral betterment went unheeded.

But, first and last, and with remarkable persistency of aim and constancy of occupation, Colonel Higginson was a man of letters. He lived in an atmosphere of books; and he lived, and lived well, by writing. It was a great satisfaction to him that he was able to make his own way in the world by the use of his pen. He began his career as a writer with an extremely valuable heritage of literary memories and associations. His activity lay in the afterglow of the period of creative literature in New England; but he knew personally all the members of the literary group. They were in almost every case his friends. He was saturated with their spirit, and knew at first hand what they had done, and how and why they had done it; and, although himself a man of independent temper and of a vigorous and individual talent, his work was enriched by his wide and intimate associations with the most important group of writers who have yet appeared in America. He was deeply interested in a wide range of subjects, and a glance at the index of the considerable list of books which bear his name brings out strikingly the breadth of his sympathies and the extent of his knowledge. His optimistic temper and his independent mind gave him a kind of gallantry which was a distinguishing quality of his nature and of his life. He was a passionate believer in the largest possibilities of human progress, and a devoted and ardent American in his faith in humanity and his belief in popular institutions. This quality he shared with the distinguished men of letters who preceded him; but he reinforced it by his own strong, deep convictions, and by his ardent and lifelong devotion to popular causes.

There was in him also the New England love of standing alone. It did not lessen the attractiveness of a cause for him that it was extremely unpopular. He had in large measure the sense of humor, and a delightful wit of his own, which he also shared with the writers who preceded him. Perhaps the most notable quality of his style was its simplicity and clearness. There is perhaps no book written by an American which can more safely be put into the hands of a young writer than the volume of "Atlantic Essays;" for not only does he inculcate clearness and simplicity, but he illustrates those qualities of style in very charming ways. A bit of advice to after-dinner speakers throws light on his own attitude and methods. He somewhere says that it is well to begin an after-dinner speech by quoting from a conversation you have been having with your neighbor, because this gives your talk at the beginning a conversational note. Coming as he did at the close of a period of striking and formal oratory, Colonel Higginson was a delightful example of the conversational type of speaker. He had a fine presence, an attractive voice, and a style admirable for its directness and avoidance of rhetorical effects. He spoke easily in the conversational tone; and after the florid rhetorical efforts of many of his

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predecessors and some of his contemporaries, the ease and charm of his manner were restful and delightful. There are many older men who will never forget the profit and delight with which they read his earlier essays; and they will always remember with gratitude the wise counsel, the fine standards of taste, the high-minded devotion to ideals, which they received from him.

THE FARMERS AND RECIPROCITY

Serious objections to a Reciprocity Agreement with Canada have been presented on behalf of the farmers, especially in the Northwest. All farmers are not agreed in objecting to it. Not all the agricultural journals are opposed to it. But the opposition, though far from unanimous, is very general, and is not to be brushed aside as class prejudice. Its representatives are not to be laughed out of court as men who are opposed to special interests until their constituents are especially interested. We believe that such a Reciprocity Agreement will be a benefit to the entire community. But we believe even more that it is the right of all classes in the community to have their views on such a theme presented by men of their own choosing. We have therefore been at some pains to obtain from various sources the objections of the farmers to Reciprocity. These objections we have stated on another page as fully as the limits imposed by our space allow. We ask for them a respectful hearing.

Nor do we here reply to them. We have not invited these representatives of the farmers' objections to a debate. Indeed, we think there is some reason in their objections. We believe that there should be a general lowering of duties, and we believe that this is the view taken by the great majority of the rational protectionists. We believe that in that lowering, at the right time, the farmer should properly have been called on to bear his part. But for years there has been a growing recognition among our people of the duty to make life on the farm more advantageous, and this cannot be done unless the farm is occupied and made reasonably profitable. There have been no complaints that the Payne-Aldrich tariff has given too high a measure of protection to the farmer. The schedules that have aroused the most bitter and, in our estimation, justifiable criticism have been schedules with which the farmer had no concern. We would much prefer, therefore, to have seen these schedules the first ones to be reduced, and the schedules in which the farmer is interested reduced only in their order, in the course of reductions along the whole line.

But we do not think that the fact that there has been a mistake in the manner and method of the proposed reform is a sufficient reason for rejecting the reform altogether. It was in the nature of the case impossible that a Reciprocity Agreement should be satisfactory to all the parties concerned. A bargain between individuals is not always entirely satisfactory to both parties. The farmer knows the difficulties of selling a horse on terms which leave nothing to be desired by either seller or purchaser. When not a single object, but a multitude of objects, is the subject-matter of the sale, and when the parties are two nations in each of which are various parties with conflicting interests, the difficulty of making a satisfactory bargain is immensely increased. We have favored a Reciprocity Agreement with Canada not because the arrangement proposed is wholly satisfactory in all respects. We favor it for three reasons; because:

It will establish closer and more friendly trade relations with our neighbor; and such relations are of vital importance to both communities.

It is one step toward the lowering of excessively high protective duties and the development of a freer trade with other nations; and this is greatly to be desired in the interest of consumers.

It furnishes an example of that reciprocal trade relationship with other communities which President McKinley urged on his countrymen in his last public speech, and which appear to us of vital importance for the peace and welfare of the world.

The question, then, for our farmers to consider is, not whether Canadian Reciprocity is the best possible arrangement

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for them as a class, nor even whether it is as good for them as they had reason to expect, but whether it inflicts such injury and injustice upon them that they are wise to demand that it be rejected, and that with it the material and international advantages to them, to the Canadians, and to the world be given up.

We think not. We think, on the other hand, that the benefits to the farmer are more considerable and the injuries less than some of the farmers appear to think they are. For example:

Free wheat will not injure the American farmer. We grow more wheat than we consume, and Canada grows more wheat than Canada consumes. If all the Canadian wheat exported should come to this country, the European market would be to that extent unsupplied, and more American wheat would go abroad. The tariff on Canadian wheat has been of no benefit to American farmers. The Canadian farmers do not compete with American farmers in the American market; both must send their surplus wheat abroad to compete with the wheat of other countries.

Free vegetables and fruits will be of advantage to the American farmer. He can furnish both fruits and vegetables earlier than the Canadian market gardener. Thus he has not only a new market, but for a few weeks an exclusive market, opened for his fruits and vegetables, which would be shipped to Canada from every section of the United States—from Florida and California as well as from New England or New York. Last year the United States sold to Canada over a million and a quarter dollars' worth on which heavy duties were paid. The remission of these duties should result in a largely increased import into Canada of early fruits and vegetables from America.

Cottonseed oil would be free. The Canadian market for this commodity is becoming exceedingly valuable. In three years the export of this product to Canada from the United States has mounted from $400,000 to over $1,000,000. And the exports are still growing. The remission of this duty should benefit Southern farmers who grow cotton.

Poultry, eggs, and other dairy products would be free. Canada takes more cheese from the United States than she sends to the United States, and takes nineteen times as many eggs as she sends us. If wheat should come across our border to be milled, the increased milling activity would increase the demand for dairy products in the Northwest.

The remission of the Canadian duty on horses is likely to result in an increased demand for American horses where the demand is already considerable.

Lumber would be free. Making rough lumber, laths, palings, etc., free, and reducing duties on planed lumber and shingles, will be of value to home-builders of every description. It is hardly necessary, moreover, to call attention to the necessity of enlarging our lumber supply, even if for nothing else than to conserve our own timber.

Fish would be free. American fishermen have not been able to keep up with the demand for fish from all sections and all classes.

Certain Canadian manufactures are admitted with lowered duties. Thus the duty is reduced from forty-five to twenty per cent on windmills, hay-loaders, potato-diggers, feed-cutters, grain-crushers, fanning-mills, farm rollers, and manure-spreaders. On farm wagons and traction engines the duty is reduced by from one-third to one-half; on repair parts of miscellaneous farm machinery from forty-five to fifteen per cent. And while Canadian manufactures may not be as fully developed as American manufactures, it is true that the Agreement opens the way for some of the largest manufacturing establishments of agricultural implements in the world to enter into competition with American manufacturers in the agricultural market.

The Outlook does not pretend to be expert on details such as these. We give them to our readers as we obtain them from experts. We do not give them as a presentation of the whole case, only as a presentation of advantages to the farmer which the farmer, in deciding whether to oppose or approve the Agreement, should not overlook. Representative Moss, of Indiana, the only legislator, it is said, who actually drives a plow when not on legislative duty, is reported as saying that the Agreement would open markets worth a hundred million dollars a year to the

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income of the American farmers. We do not vouch for his figures. But it is certain that markets of very considerable value are opened to the American farmer by the Agreement. And it is at least a question whether, when both sides are added up, it will not be found that the balance of advantage to the farmers as a class is not inconsiderable. It seems to us clear that the disadvantage is not so apparent or so great as to justify rejecting an Agreement which both materially and morally is of great advantage to the people generally both of Canada and of the United States.

REVELATION AND LITERATURE

The Bible as revelation and the Bible as literature is one and the same book; for without revelation there is no literature, and without literature there is no revelation. Whenever great moments come in the sixty-six books which we bind together and call The Book, straightway the narrative takes wings and rises to mid-heaven. The first sentences of the Old Testament are of an incomparable majesty; the portraits of the patriarchs show the power and penetration of Rembrandt. The flight from Egypt, the delivery of the Law symbolized by the tables of stone, and the silencing of the priests of Baal by Elijah are dramatized with a vitality and power which convey the sense of the presence of the Infinite; the Twenty-third Psalm is the most beautiful example in literature of the vision of God through a landscape made indescribably tender by human use and occupation; the Gospels are biographies of such simplicity that they convey not only the power but the purity of the sinless Christ; and in the chapter on the resurrection St. Paul rises on the wings of the truth which possesses him to a height above the reach of cloud and mist.

It is as impossible to separate revelation and literature in the Bible as to divorce the thought of Shakespeare from the form it wears; they are flesh of one flesh and bone of one bone; soul and body which God has joined together and which man cannot put asunder. He who seeks the source of the power of the Bible and of its literature in its style looks into a sepulcher from which life has gone forth to the ends of the earth. The art of the Bible is born not of skill nor even of genius; it is born of life itself, and its power is the power of life. It is the vital expression of experience, thought, emotion, inspiration; it is truth shining with incomparable majesty through speech of incomparable simplicity, sincerity, vitality. Born in the heart of a race of unique moral insight, and capable, in exalted moments, of cloudless spiritual vision, it is written in a language that gives wing to its thought and clarity to its vision, so that it becomes a window through which we look out from the narrow walls of time and sense into the Infinite and Eternal.

And the pressure of life whose high tides are registered in the Hebrew, the Aramaic, and the Greek originals rose also to the flood in the English translation. The German Bible was the work of Luther, whose genius made its language the speech of Germany. The English Bible was the creation of generations of Englishmen in the years of heroic history. It was born in storm and fire, and the blood of martyrs was shed for it. Wyclif died of his tremendous labors on it as truly as if he had been burned at the stake; Tyndale, scholar and hero, of dauntless courage and loving heart, gave the translation its noble rhythm, the pulsation of its life, its restrained richness, and its impressive earnestness, and, after eight years of tireless work and narrow escapes from his persecutors, was hunted down, strangled, and burned. Miles Coverdale, who brought to the work a quick feeling for harmony, a musician's sense of cadence, and a command of the happy phrase, was deposed and banished. Matthew's Bible, which appeared in 1537, was edited by John Rogers, the first martyr under Queen Mary; the Genevan Bible was made by exiles. Into the translation, as into the original, life was poured without measure. From Genesis to Revelation, from the making of the first manuscript to the completion of the English translation, the Bible took form in the deepest experiences of life, and was fashioned out of the sacrifice which it recorded from age to age.

This book of life was translated into

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English at the hour when the language was most vital, and when English prose, without losing the richness and eloquence of Shakespeare's contemporaries, had passed through opulence to simplicity and strength; when, as Lowell says, "every hidden root of thought, every subtlest fiber of feeling, was mated by new shoots and leafage of expression, fed from those unseen sources in the common earth of human nature."

The book which became an English classic in 1611, instead of being drained of its vitality by the passage of years, received a new accession of life when it passed into the keeping of the people and became, not only the text-book of their national life, but the standard of their language. It had been the companion of scholars; it had been read from volumes chained in churches and colleges; in various imperfect forms it had gone to many homes; in its new form it became the story-book, the reading-book, the book of poetry, the book of history, the book of divine revelation, to the entire English people. It was in all hands; it spoke a language which all could understand; the colonists brought it to the New World and made it the foundation of a new civilization.

It passed into the heart of the English people and it permeated and penetrated English speech; it enriched that speech with those phrases which are the ultimate forms into which thought, emotion, and imagination pour themselves: "A man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief," "The rich he hath sent empty away," "So also is the resurrection of the dead," "O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?" "The Lord is my shepherd."

The style of the Bible is rooted in its abounding life, and its specific quality is its vital energy, compounded of simplicity, concreteness, deep feeling, tender imagery. The Bible deals with the reality of things, but always in their larger relations. Its plainest prose is brushed by the wing of poetry. Compare the sublime simplicity of its opening sentences—"In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. . . . And God said, Let there be light: and there was light"—with these sentences recently published in a newspaper from a teacher of one of the new religions: "The radium of spirit penetrates, dissolves, and disperses the substanceless shadows or images of the mortal concept—the counterfeit man and the counterfeit universe—and discloses the divine reality and spiritual verities of being."

A book so charged with vitality of thought and speech is an immense vitalizer not only of action but of expression, and the language of the English Bible has sunk deep into English speech and become so much a part of that speech that it is impossible to separate them. It has given English literature a tone which no other modern literature possesses; a fundamental sense of moral relation, of the potency of conduct; it has charged the most characteristic English writing with character. It has held life and art in balance and poise, and has been a mighty force for sanity and health. From Bunyan to Lincoln its direct influence and its hidden potency, its inspiring thought and its penetrating power and beauty of form, lie reflected in the English prose which is at once simple and weighty, which bears the burden of life aloft on the strong wings of faith and vision.

THE SPECTATOR

The Spectator was on his way to his old home for the Christmas holidays. It was quite a journey from the big metropolis to the little town to which he was bound, and the trip involved a number of changes of cars. What was his dismay to find that somewhere on the way he had lost his purse, containing all the money he had saved for Christmas, besides his railway ticket! It was a grievous loss to the Spectator, and the railway company, seeing his plight, took great pains to trace the lost pocketbook. They wired the chief stations where the train would stop, but to this day the purse has not been found.

Porters and other train employees have grown tired of the curt "Thank you" handed out to them by the owners of property found and honestly returned. Nine times out of ten they receive no reward, and so have fallen more and more

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into the habit of keeping what they find on trains. This is what the Spectator learned in the railway office. He tried to make the best of it, but he could not help thinking of the superior system in Germany for lost and found articles, and wished that it might be more generally known in this country, so that in time a similar system might be introduced in the United States.

In German cities it is to the chief police station that lost and found articles are taken. In the country they are taken to the village magistrate. The announcement of this bureau is in all the city papers, like the following notice taken from an English paper published in Dresden:

> Whoever has lost or left anything in the streets or squares of this city should inquire for the same at the *Fundamt* (lost property office) of the *Königliche Polizeidirektion*, Schiess Gasse 7.

Strangers soon learn where to inquire for things they have lost, and proceed to the *Fundamt*, at the chief police headquarters. The police headquarters in any German city is in a handsome stone building, as fine as most of our city halls. At the door you are stopped by a uniformed policeman, who asks what you want. He indicates the way, gives you the number of the room, and if you have come at the wrong hour he will tell you at what hours the office is open. If the office is open, you proceed up the flight of handsome marble steps, through a glass door, and along a lengthy corridor lined on one side by various offices—for taxes, for the registration of strangers, etc.

The system by which all strangers are registered is a very remarkable one. Every new arrival in a German city, whether in a hotel, private family, or *pension*—as the boarding-houses are called—must be registered at the nearest police station within twenty-four hours of arrival. A printed form is filled out with the person's name, where he is from, and other items, and filed at the police station until a notice of departure is sent in. If for any reason information is desired concerning a person, it is to be had at the police station. It is indeed rather a hard matter to evade the German police! It may be unpleasant to be obliged to fill out these papers; on the other hand, it is a comfort to know that by means of them your friends can find you and you can find them. But you are now bound for the lost property office, and must pass on. Your goal is at the extreme end of the corridor. You walk in, to find a small, bare room, the four walls of which are lined with shelves, drawers, and rows of hooks. One or two attendants are here, policemen in green uniforms and silver buttons, who ask what they can do for you. You have lost a purse, you say. When was it? and where? are the next questions. You give a full description of the purse and its contents. The clerk brings forth a drawer full of pocketbooks. The drawer is divided into small sections, each labeled with the month. If you lost yours in February, he would look through the "Februarys," opening one or two purses. The contents are wrapped in paper and carefully marked. If yours is not there, you are told to come again in a few days. The drawers and shelves are interesting to see. Here are watches, rings, and brooches, all arranged according to months, and labeled with a full description as to where found, time, and exact date. Here are umbrellas and keys, too. The latter, suspended from hooks, look very formidable when represented in great numbers, for the German house-key is so large and ponderous that it might well be used as a weapon of defense.

The Spectator while in Germany lost his purse on the street once, and next morning made inquiries at the police station. Nothing had been brought in, he was told. He was about to leave when the officials recalled a purse which had been handed in only a few moments before, and had not yet been placed and labeled. It was wrapped in a newspaper, a dirty, battered old purse—far too shabby, presumably, to bear any resemblance to the Spectator's good wallet. He was on the point of disowning it, when, upon closer examination, he recognized the contents—a big silver five-mark piece and some small coins. It had been run over by the street car, and the conductor had stopped the car when he felt the jolt,

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and found the purse on the track. The money was badly bent, the purse torn; but the conductor had turned it in before going to work, just as he had found it. Of course he expected his reward, ten per cent of the value, to which every finder is entitled. No matter how great or how small the value of an article, the finder has his ten per cent reward. He collects it at the police station when it has been paid by the owner of the article. If after one year the property is not claimed, it is turned over to the finder. The assured reward is a great incentive toward honesty, and most people will prefer this to a guilty conscience. Probably there is not a man, woman, or child in Germany who does not know the custom of the *Fundamt;* and they know, also, that they are bound to get their reward. On the other hand, if they should fail to turn in any article they have found, and it should be discovered, they may be fined or even imprisoned. The German has great respect and fear of the law, and in Germany all laws are, without exception, enforced.

Another time the Spectator lost a purse containing only fifteen cents, yet he got it back at the *Fundamt.* With large sums of money or other articles, it is the same—you pay ten per cent of the value when you get them back. The *Fundamt* will also send a description of a lost article to all jewelers and pawnbrokers in the city, so that they may recognize it if brought to them for sale. The Spectator meditated upon all this, and thought of the many advantages of this simple German system—how much better it is for the morals of many poor, hard-working citizens that they can be absolutely certain of a good reward for every article returned which they have found. Losing anything in America, your friends assure you, you have seen the last of it. Could this not be changed through a regulation like that universally known in Germany?

In the general joy and good will of the Christmas season—to revert to his American experiences—the Spectator forgot his loss. His friends, among them some in the Fatherland, remembered him most generously. One box from Germany pleased him especially; it contained many small German trinkets of no particular value. As the Spectator looked at the box, he wondered that it had ever reached him; it was broken and battered, the wrapper was torn, and the string tied loosely around the center, exposing the contents, so that they might easily drop out or be taken. The year before, when in Germany, the Spectator received many gifts from America. Over there all foreign mail goes through to the city of its destination, no examination occurring at the ports. If it is suspected that a package contains dutiable matter, it is held at the city customs office. The Spectator received official cards notifying him of the arrival of foreign parcels. He might either go in person or authorize the customs to open and inspect. They would examine the parcels and afterwards return them to the post-office for delivery, the post-office collecting the duty if there were any. The Spectator chose rather to go in person. He handed in his cards at a window, and when his turn came, his name was called and the parcels were passed out to him. He took them to an inspector behind a counter, who examined the contents carefully and asked whether they were new or old. After the examination the Spectator tied up his parcels again, the officer, who was a friendly individual, helping him. There was no great crowd here and no rush—not even at this busy Christmas season; consequently there was no danger that anything out of the parcels would be lost or broken. At the gateway the customs guard looked to see if the packages had been passed; if they had not, duty would have to be paid at the desk.

But in America, when the gifts came to the Spectator from his friends in the Fatherland, it seemed to him not quite fair that they should be examined in New York on their way, then forwarded to him in a more or less untidy condition. But he could hardly expect his parcels to be carefully tied up again when there are such vast numbers to be examined in New York at this season of the year.

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FARMERS AND CANADIAN RECIPROCITY

The Outlook has received from several sources objections entertained by many farmers, especially of the Northwest, to the Reciprocity Agreement with Canada; and has been at some pains to collate and compare those objections in the preparation of the following summary. Within this summary, condensed from statements by Mr. R. T. Kingman, of Hillsboro, North Dakota, Mr. Treadwell Twichell, of Mapleton, North Dakota, and Mr. W. G. Morehouse, of Westport, New York, all the principal objections, we believe, will be found. It is their understanding of the facts, not The Outlook's, that is here presented. To these correspondents The Outlook hereby tenders its thanks for their service in expressing these views. An editorial discussion of this subject appears on another page in this issue.—THE EDITORS.

"THE proposed Reciprocity Agreement seems to us farmers practically a duplicate of our agreement with Canada operating from 1855 to 1866. Our disastrous experience under it is indicated by the fact that in that period the average annual difference of total trade with Canada in our favor was about $1,500,000, while in the years immediately after the abrogation of reciprocity, though our loss was at first notable, from 1873 to 1904 our sales to Canada reached about $18,000,000 a year in excess of Canada's sales to us. The percentage of total imports into Canada from the United States increased from 36% in 1868 to 60% in 1906, while our imports from Canada show a loss, contrasted with Canada's total exports, of from 47% in 1868 to 38% in 1906."

"All fair-minded farmers would be in favor of a real reciprocity treaty, but not one that takes the duty off farm products and not off the farm implements that the farmer uses, except such as are not brought into the country; wire for fencing is brought in free, but there is not much made in Canada, so it will make no material difference in the price. It does not take the duty off slaughtered beef, but does take it off of beef on the hoof. It lets wheat enter free, but does not let in free flour. What the farmer and the working people of the United States want is a real reciprocity treaty, and not one that discriminates between the classes. The treaty looks good on the surface, but it needs a little study."

"While farm products are now taxed on the average 25%, manufactured articles are taxed on the average about 45%." "The Agreement would deprive agriculturists of the small protection they now enjoy." "The farmer should receive exactly the same measure of protection as is given to the manufacturer."

"Secretary Wilson says the consumer pays fifty to fifty-nine per cent more for his food than the farmer gets. His estimate is very conservative. If we get forty per cent, we are doing well. The majority get only thirty-five per cent. The rest goes to the railways and the dealers. You can make up your mind that the railway people are glad to hear the talk about reciprocity and not so much about railway rates."

"The movement to make the Reciprocity Agreement with Canada was started, we believe, to give business to the Hill and Morgan railway interests; to the Steel, Harvester, Coal, Packing, and Electric Trusts; to the millers, maltsters, and brewers; and, finally, to the newspapers, with their expected saving of $6,000,000 a year. . . . The Agreement does not consider the farmers primarily."

"As our producers now raise a considerable surplus of farm products above our National requirements, and as this surplus must be sold in other countries, and as Canada is also an exporter of these products, the gain coming to any part of our people from the Agreement must come at the expense of our farming class. Thus the Agreement discriminates between classes."

"The removal of the tariff on wheat would open a vast territory to emigration from the United States, resulting in the cheapening of our expensive lands and in hampering the developments of Minnesota, the Dakotas, and Montana."

"Canadian hard wheat introduced into

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our market would change the grade of wheat, so that, in consequence, North Dakota wheat, for example, would stand at a lower grade, and would, of course, command a lower price."

"A bushel of wheat, when ground into flour and mixed with water, makes seventy-five loaves of bread, which sell for five cents per loaf, or $3.75. (The farmer gets less than one-fourth of this.) A reduction of, say, ten cents a bushel would amount to fifty cents per year to the consumer (provided the miller and baker decided to let the fifty cents get by). Would this serve to keep any one of our consumers out of the poorhouse?

"Referring to Mr. Taft's statements that the difference in price of wheat between Winnipeg and Minnesota is due, not to the difference in the cost of production in favor of the Canadian farmer, but to the high cost of transportation in Canada, the expensive elevator charges there, and the absence of the carrying and warehouse facilities enjoyed by the American farmer —the three principal speculative markets for spring wheat are Minneapolis, Duluth, and Winnipeg; the four principal terminals, Minneapolis, Duluth, Port Arthur, and Port William. If a man buys or sells wheat in the Winnipeg market, he gets wheat absolutely delivered at Port Arthur or Port William and not at Winnipeg; thus Winnipeg prices are actually Port William and Port Arthur quotations. The President should have used for comparison the American port of Duluth and a Canadian port, either Port Arthur or Port William.

"The statement that the price of wheat must be determined in the markets of the world is not wholly true. As a general proposition, the world's supply and demand establish price, but this is modified sometimes by local conditions. Our own home prices are more largely affected by home conditions than by Liverpool's offering price. During the past five years the price of wheat at Duluth and Minneapolis has exceeded the price at Port Arthur and Port William by more than ten per cent; moreover, an examination of the difference between the prices for the same grade of wheat at American and Canadian ports, taking every Saturday during 1910 and ending January 28, 1911, shows an average difference of about 10½ cents, ranging from 1¼ to 17⅛ cents in our favor. Pass the Reciprocity Agreement and, while in theory the world's supply of wheat will be no greater, the conditions which have given the American producer the advantage will be destroyed. If the world's price, based upon the world's supply, is made by Liverpool, why should the Liverpool average price of 1906 have been ten cents below the price of the previous six years if the world's crop that year was no greater than in any one of the previous six years? The answer is, because the United States, with the unusual surplus of 250,000,000 bushels of wheat that year, was at Liverpool's mercy. Why has Liverpool taken our surplus for the last five years at prices five to twenty cents above her own (deducting cost of transportation), when the world's supply for each one of these five years was no less than in 1906? The answer is, because Liverpool needs a certain amount of our high-grade spring wheat flour, and when our surplus is no greater than at present we, in a measure, make our own price.

"But increase the supply of high-grade wheat from Canada, and you destroy the conditions which this competition produces, and this is exactly what the millers want to do. The lower grade of wheat now produced in Iowa, Illinois, and Nebraska will not be sought for by our millers to reduce the cost of their barrel of flour, because the heavier, plumper spring wheat raised in Canada will force a lowering of our spring wheat in the market to such a point that our millers can cheapen their barrel of flour by buying the American spring wheat instead of the winter wheat, as at present.

"Not only is this true, but the possibility of western Canada's increased production is almost beyond comprehension. Saskatchewan, for instance, one of the six Canadian provinces, with less than twelve per cent of the province's occupied area under cultivation, produced in 1909 no less than 90,000,000 bushels of wheat. On a basis of fifteen bushels to an acre, the tillable area of this province would produce an amount greater than the whole world's production—over 3,000,000,000 bushels. The bushel cost of the production of wheat in Canada is less than in the

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United States, for, in the first place, the value of Canadian land is less than one-third of that of our wheat-producing sections; second, the average wage scale in Canada is lower; third, the cost of living is less; fourth, the Canadian yield from a new virgin soil is greater per acre than is our yield in this country.

"As to barley, pass the Reciprocity Bill and our 170,000,000-bushel barley crop will largely go back into the food supply on a basis with oats; for the Agreement would permit the brewer to buy his higher-grade malt barley from Canada, with only our brewers and maltsters receiving any benefit whatever."

"Pass the Reciprocity Bill and Western Canada will supply 150,000,000 bushels of oats to New England, now supplied by our own corn States."

"While doubtless the Reciprocity Agreement would open a wider market for many agricultural products, this does not mean a great deal, since, as in the case of the fruits grown by New York and Michigan farmers, there would be a resultant higher price in the States where no fruit is produced."

"As to any lowering of the tariff on agricultural implements, the new rate would permit of practically the same prices as now exist, since the difference between Canadian and American prices on farm machinery is from fifteen to twenty per cent."

"As to free lumber, the farmer who has erected his buildings has little or nothing to gain, since he probably uses no more than a thousand feet of lumber in the course of a year."

"But who will pay the cost? The farmers, and indirectly the masses of the American people. We would lose in revenue $7,736,000 of import duties paid to us by Canada during the past fiscal year, less the duties paid by us to Canada, namely, $2,560,000. That is, we would be directly paying Canada more than $5,000,000 a year in duties removed for an opportunity to secure what we can of $78,000,000 worth of business, for Canada imported last year a total of $376,000,000 worth of goods, of which $223,000,000 worth came from this country. But Canada, like the United States, requires goods that cannot be produced in either country, and, of course, that part of her trade we can never get: it amounts to, approximately, $75,000,000. Thus there is a balance of $78,000,000 for us to work for in competition with England, Germany, and other countries."

"The saving to be made to American exporters to Canada is largely upon trust manufactured or controlled goods. The largest saving on any one item is $455,000 on coal; the next, $239,000 on packing industry products; the next, $179,000 on cottonseed oil. These three items amount to more than the one-third of the duty saved to the American exporter into Canada, and do not appeal to the American farmer as offering sufficient reasons for making material concessions to Canada."

"In short, the United States, having built the finest home market in the world, can command a better price for its products than can be secured by Canada, with its small home consumption ability and the world's open markets."

"Our imports from Canada consist principally of lumber, logs, and wood pulp, fish, copper and nickel ore, hides, skins and furs. Except on lumber, wood pulp, and fish the proposed agreement leaves the duty practically as before. Our principal exports to Canada consist of manufactured articles, principally of agricultural implements, electrical apparatus, chemicals, and carriages, and in some of these things our manufacturers enjoy from ninety to ninety-five per cent of Canada's total import of them. That is a virtual monopoly. Will not the lowering of the duty on these articles add to the already large profits to the corporations that supply them, without any possible hope that prices will be lowered to our people?"

"In short, we are constrained to criticise the Administration in its present proposition to aid in the rapid settlement of Canada; in inviting our farmers to transfer their allegiance, homes, and property to an alien country that there they may enjoy a prosperity insured to them by our own Government in opening to them as residents of Canada ours, the best of markets for products which they can produce there more cheaply than we here; in addition to which Canada, through its governmental policy, insures them a greater purchasing power."

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DICKENS IN AMERICA

BY THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON

This article, written in view of the approaching centenary of Charles Dickens's birth, was one of the last pieces of literary work from the pen of Colonel Higginson, who died at his home in Cambridge on May 9. Elsewhere in this number of The Outlook will be found some estimate of Colonel Higginson's place in American life and literature.—THE EDITORS.

ONE of the most vivid remembrances of my Harvard College life, now some seventy years away, was that time when my elder brother came home one afternoon from his modest office in Boston and burst upon us in our Cambridge parlor with the words: "There is a new book from England, about which every one in Boston is talking, and it has such an odd name—'The Pickwick Papers, by Boz.'" Upon this there was a cry of wonder at a name so strange. Then my aunt, Mrs. Francis Channing—grandmother of the present Sir Francis Channing, in the British House of Commons—a lady who had just arrived from England, cried out: "Is it possible! Has the name of 'Boz' reached America?" In fact, the word "Boz" had come earlier than that of "Pickwick;" and there was another personage, Sam Weller, whose name had already inspired more enthusiasm than either. Then we began to wonder whether this great wizard, Boz, would ever be wafted across the Atlantic, and make his characters move and breathe on American soil.

It was some time, however, before the fulfillment of this vision. The event was on a bleak winter night in the year 1842, when the young English author was piloted by James T. Fields to what was then the Tremont House, now supplanted by the Tremont Building. This was the great resort for newly arrived English travelers. I had relatives in what was then a private house opposite, and from their windows we often looked with interest on foreign passengers hastily unloaded in rainy weather at the door of the hotel. James Fields, who was then but five-and-twenty or so, was always ready to receive guests, and has left this description of the visitor at that time: "Young, handsome, almost worshiped for his genius, belted round by such troops of friends as rarely ever man had." We can easily imagine "young Boz," as they still called him, joining Lord Mulgrave, his fellow-traveler on the voyage, and eagerly sallying forth, even on a winter evening, to take his first look at an American city. Boz, at least, muffled himself in a shaggy fur coat and went forth on the frozen snow, wisely keeping in the middle of the street. "We boys," says Fields, "followed cautiously behind, but near enough not to lose any of the fun." Of course the English visitors soon lost their way on emerging into Washington Street from Tremont. Dickens kept up a stream of uproarious laughter as he went swiftly forward, reading the signs on the shops, to him unutterably quaint and odd. When the two youths came out opposite the Old South Church, Dickens screamed with laughter, but Fields never, he says, succeeded in understanding just why.

My first real glimpse of Dickens, when a boy of nineteen, was at a party in Boston. I find this entry in my journal: "Rather tired for a ball, but then the idea of seeing Boz!" I went with one of the prominent Jackson family of Boston, and we were wedged in a great crowd, when we were suddenly told that Dickens was close by with Charles Sumner. Miss Jackson was pulled forward and introduced to Boz, who, after speaking to Sumner, leaned over to my companion and said, benignantly, "Not a very good corner for confidential conversation!" Then he and Sumner pushed off through the crowd.

"Miss J. became a lion at once," continues the record, and "Sarah Hale (Dr. Hale's beautiful sister) was excited because she had been introduced to Dickens and had talked to him some time." Boz was the principal subject of conversation all that winter, sometimes to my youthful chagrin, as when I thus record walking home from a dance with a young damsel: "She insisted on talking 'Barnaby Rudge' all the way, instead of ourselves!"

To refer again to my diary, I find this

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entry: "February 5. Home, and found them in great excitement at having seen Boz and actually shaken hands with him in the College Library, after he had breakfasted with Mr. Longfellow. What a glorious thing it is for a whole nation to rise up and do homage to the genius of one young man!"

The following lively account of the persecutions to which Dickens was subjected by his admirers on his first visit has never before been published, and is taken from a letter written to me by my old friend Charles Parsons, a nephew of Dr. Holmes, and dated February 3, 1842. Speaking of a walk in Cambridge, he says the soil clung "to me like the women to Boz. . . . What devilish fools—I must speak my opinion—folks are making of themselves about Boz. . . . The poor man has from 150 to 200 applications for autographs per diem, has to keep a private secretary to do all but the signatures; shouldn't wonder if that—on an emergency. . . . Alexander [a well-known Boston artist of that day] got the privilege of taking Dickens's portrait. The ladies pressed in so to stare at him that he at last couldn't bear it, swore a big oath that he wouldn't sit there to be gazed at, and bolted for the door. He was soon obl ged to bolt it, for his fair, bewitched, and bewitching tormentors rushed after the persecuted wretch to see him come out. Whether Alexander had any crackers and cheese I know not, but, at any rate, he was not prepared to stand a blockade, and Boz had in time to leave his fortress and attempt to paddle. The fairy sprites were instantly at him, one seized his hand to claim the privilege, etc. 'You do me too much honor,' exclaimed the distracted author, and made a straight coat-tail for the Tremont House. . . . Really, it is too bad that he should get such an idea of the ill-breeding of our people."

Dickens made bitter complaints himself of these unfortunate attentions, but he was less annoyed on his later trip—perhaps because more carefully guarded.

I find in my diary for 1842 the following extract from a speech of Dickens's at a dinner given by the young men of Boston:

"I cannot help expressing the delight, the more than happiness, it was to me to find so strong an interest awakened, on this side of the water, in favor of that little heroine of mine, to whom your president has made allusion, who died in her youth. I had letters about that child, in England, from the dwellers in log houses among the morasses, and swamps, and densest forests, and deepest solitudes of the Far West. Many a sturdy hand, hard with the ax and spade, and browned by the summer's sun, has taken up the pen and written to me a little history of domestic joy or sorrow, always coupled, I am proud to say, with interest in that little tale, or some comfort or happiness derived from it; and the writer has always addressed me, not as a writer of books for sale, resident some four or five thousand miles away, but a friend to whom he might freely impart the joys and sorrows of his own fireside. Many a mother—I could reckon them now by dozens, not by units—has done the like; and has told me how she has lost such a child at such a time, and where she lay buried, and how good she was, and how, in this or that respect, she resembled Nell. I do assure you that no circumstance of my life has given me one hundredth part of the gratification I have derived from this source. I was wavering at the time whether or not to wind up my clock, and come and see this country, and this decided me. . . . And even now I have such an odd sensation in connection with these things, that you have no chance of spoiling me. . . . At every new act of kindness on your part, I say it to myself—that's for Oliver—I should not wonder if that were meant for Smike—I have no doubt that is intended for Nell; and so I become a much happier, certainly, but a more sober and retiring man, than ever I was before."

The courage and independence of Dickens are shown by the attitude he took on slavery. In his "American Notes," published after his return to England, he quotes pages of shocking paragraphs and bloodthirsty slave advertisements taken, during his first visit here, from Southern newspapers, and then exclaims: "What! shall we declaim against the ignorant peasantry of Ireland and mince the matter when these Americans taskmasters are in question? Shall we cry shame on the brutality of those who hamstring cattle

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and spare the lights of freedom to those who notch the ears of men and women!

"Shall we whimper over legends of the tortures practiced on each other by the pagan Indians, and smile upon the cruelties of Christian men! Shall we, so long as these things last, exult above the scattered remnants of that race, and triumph in the white enjoyment of their broad possessions? Rather, for me, restore the forest and the Indian village; in lieu of stars and stripes, let some poor feather flutter in the breeze; replace the streets and squares by wigwams; and, though the death-song of a hundred haughty warriors fill the air, it will be music to the shriek of one unhappy slave."

Indeed, Dickens's desire to be useful was unlimited, and Daniel Webster, while in England, declared that the novelist had done more to help the condition of the English poor than all the statesmen in Parliament.

The enthusiasm which met the announcement of another visit to America in November, 1867, was hardly less exuberant, our people having forgotten, in their joy at greeting the great writer, their soreness over his sharp criticisms of American peculiarities. But it is always to be remembered that Dickens said nothing about Americans more unpleasant than he had previously said about his own countrymen.

At the time of his second visit I heard Dickens read, and find my impression recorded in this letter dated at Newport, Rhode Island, December 29, 1867:

"My Dear Sisters—I have been away again lecturing, Thursday night at Salem, and Friday at Lexington, and now am settled for the winter, my lecturing pretty much ended. This is why I did not write to you sooner about Dickens, whom I heard with Una [Hawthorne] on Christmas Eve.

"I enjoyed it as much as I originally expected. Our seats were admirable—the Fields bench—and Sam Longfellow sat by me. I think this explains half the dissent about his readings—people far off must miss so much. It was a sort of comic Fanny Kemble, the transformation of face and voice equaling hers—falling short of her in all high pathos, but having the advantage of narrative or recitative parts, which she has not, and which he made as good as anything. The 'Christmas Carol' and 'Pickwick Trial' were read, and the narratives of the Cratchet dinner and the Fezziwegs' ball were as good as any of the dialogue. The ghostly part of the 'Carol,' which I always thought poor, became effective and Hamlet-like in his hands. In this Scrooge and Bob Cratchet were perfectly individualized; in the Trial the lawyers all, and Mr. Winkle. Sam Weller seemed nothing to me, though Fields said better than ever before! Some of the best characters (as with Mrs. Kemble) are those which only appear once or twice, with their individuality fixed forever—as the foolish juryman in the Trial who asks for the date—such a face of eager fussy triviality; and again the two merchants who talk on 'Change about Scrooge's death. This seemed to me the crowning triumph. I should have supposed that only Shakespeare and Fanny Kemble could endow with equal life the slightest and most elaborate portraitures.

"His face, though thin, is clear, and his magnetism irresistible for comedy—a single epithet set all in convulsions. But whenever he tried pathos beyond a certain point—only once, though, in Tiny Tim's death—he failed; as do all, I think, except Fanny Kemble, and, notably, Booth.

"Dickens is much smaller than I expected, slim and quick and birdlike—like my impression of Tom Moore; he looks insignificant, but that his head is fine and well placed. There is nothing flashy or vulgar about him, which I feared. The Fields both praise him highly in private. Fields says he is not coarse and vulgar in talk, like Thackeray, and told stories of his great kindness, and says he is amusing beyond compare, as he imitates everybody. Dickens has a report merely that Browning and Jean Ingelow are to marry, but Fields disbelieves it. I have not met Dickens."

It must be remembered that this visit happened nearly fifty years ago, when comparatively few Americans had crossed the Atlantic or come into contact with English life and customs. It was said that the readings were more successful in New York than in Boston, because the applause of New York audiences was instantaneous. Possibly Boston audiences were less responsive then than now, although, when we remember how Boston people stood in line all through the coldest winter nights to obtain tickets to these

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readings, we can be sure that there was no real lack of enthusiasm.

Fields was doubtless right in applying to Dickens what was said of Garrick, that he was the cheerfulest man of his age, and his jollity was contagious. As Carlyle said, "he was a whole theater." It is told of a little dinner given by Dickens in Boston, that his dramatic and comic representations so convulsed his guests with laughter that in sheer exhaustion they broke up the gathering to "save their lives."

One of the best tributes to Dickens's fame is the way in which he has been quoted by other authors, who have lavishly used his characters and incidents to illustrate their own text. He came upon the scene when the exaggerated, emotional tendency flourished in literature. All this seemed blown away in an instant by the first appearance of Sam Weller upon the scene. Dickens himself bore marked traces of the very epidemic he banished, and his Little Pauls were the last survival of the sentimental period. Nevertheless, it was he more than any one else who exorcised it; and whatever its merits, he rendered the world a service in that act of grace.

He produced a long and rapid series of fiction, each individual book standing by itself and each quite outside the world of fashion and society, material with which few before Dickens had dealt. It was all most un-English; for instance, his only conspicuous nobleman was called by the contemptuous name of Lord Verisopht; yet he made in all a series of books absolutely new, whether in style or social atmosphere, and he rarely called on great historical events for material. He so refrained from using the prevailing English class of subjects that I myself remember hearing Lord Houghton criticising him for it at a dinner in London many years later. Countless novels are full of the enjoyment of wealth; but how many celebrate the joys of poverty? The pride of its little prudences, the joy of its wholesome abstinences, the magnificent delight of its occasional holidays—who but Dickens ever described them? Who but his little Jacob ever knew what oysters were, or really saw a play? His earnestness of work is illustrated by his preparation for the "Tale of Two Cities," when he persuaded Carlyle to send him all his reference books on the French Revolution, and he read them until he knew them by heart.

The time came when I was to be personally bound to Dickens, through a tie quite unknown perhaps to him, on his second busy visit to this country. This was through a neatly printed little book bearing his name alone, yet which I was employed by Ticknor & Fields, his exclusive publishers in this country, to prepare. This was called "Child Pictures from Dickens," and was based on extracts from his books. I have the only copy ever seen by me. Its successive chapters bore the titles of "Little Nell," "The Marchioness," "Paul and Florence," "The Fat Boy," "Tiny Tim," "Smike," and "Oliver Twist," and it was well illustrated by the younger Eytinge, then prominent as an illustrator, under the superintendence of A. V. S. Anthony. It contained a brief preface from Dickens himself, which was dated November, 1867, the month in which he reached America, although the book had been chiefly prepared before he sailed from Europe. I find in my note-book this reference to it: "Have worked on 'Child Pictures' at night also." This haste was doubtless necessary in order to have the book ready for Christmas sale at the time of Dickens's visit.

In writing to my sisters I find recorded:

"I have been very busy, especially with the 'Child Pictures from Dickens,' which are now ready. . . . In doing this [work] I have been very much struck with the superiority of Tiny Tim over his other pathetic pictures of children. It is the only one in which there is no trace of effort or sentimentality." And later I have written: "He liked my selections for 'Child Pictures' well enough, I believe, but made the suggestion that some descriptions of eminent children should be added from his 'Child's History of England,' which Fields and I thought unwise."

It is sometimes said that young people no longer read Dickens. If this be true, I can only say, "So much the worse for the young people." To us of an older generation, how many of his characters were real beings; and what an excitement it was when we first went to England and

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met their counterparts on the London streets! I still remember with what glee a newly arrived member of my family wrote from Chester: "Every evening Tilly Slowboy comes out and stands under our window with her small charge; and yesterday I saw Quilp!"

In a note lately written to me by Mrs. Fields, referring to the all-absorbing interest and excitement of Dickens's second visit to America, she reminds me that during those overcrowded months the ordinary habits and occupations of his friends were brushed aside, "until the human hurricane had swept past." And she well adds, "The sense of genius could not be more forcibly felt than in the hurrying flight of this great spirit."

THE STORY OF THE CONSUMERS' LEAGUE

BY FLORENCE LUCAS SANVILLE

A GROUP of women in a suburb of Philadelphia recently set about an attempt the issue of which seemed doubtful in the extreme. Their hope was to induce the shopkeepers of the community to grant to their employees the relief of a half-holiday in each week during the months of July and August—an experiment hitherto practically untried by the merchants in the town. To any one who is familiar with the climate of Philadelphia at that season of the year the need of this endeavor will be patent, especially as the habit of night shopping had fastened upon the community, and was as great a feature of summer as of winter.

Surprising success met the effort, some stores granting a Saturday half-holiday, while others, which could not readjust the demands of their business on such short notice, closed their doors on Tuesday afternoons; but the vast majority of the shops on the main street of the town displayed cards announcing one or the other of these days as closed to the public "for the benefit of our employees."

The writer entered one of these shops as a customer one day, and in the course of purchasing a box of note-paper asked the man in charge how he accounted for the readiness with which the new custom had been adopted.

"Well," he replied, "of course the idea is not a new one. The proposition has been brought up in our Business Association a great many times, but there was always enough opposition to down it. But this year, you see, the customers took a hand for the first time, and that decided the matter for a great many of the members. It was the ladies who did it, I guess."

The significance of this incident lies in the elements which it contains of a widespread movement which, seizing upon the hint of power implied, has built upon this power the organization known as the Consumers' League. This League is simply a part of that great process of combination which is the characteristic feature of our present industrial civilization. We have organization of employers to develop economy of production and to protect themselves against excessive competition. We have organization of workers to develop a standard of earning capacity, and to protect themselves against an underselling of their labor. Both of these are organizations of producers. The Consumers' League represents the organization of a still greater economic class. It is a combination of individuals who use their power as consumers to protect the community of which they are a part from the disastrous effect of unregulated industry upon its workers—an organized expression of responsibility on the part of the buyers of things toward those who make and distribute the things which they buy.

In these days when the differentiation ever becomes wider and more striking between whole classes, as producers and consumers, the basis for such an organization

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as the Consumers' League becomes apparent. The great suction wheel of consumption, which draws out the fruits of industry and appropriates them to the needs of complex human life, derives its power from all the countless little acts of shopping and buying in our daily lives. Each woman as she purchases a five-cent cotton handkerchief, a fifteen-cent can of "Sifted June Peas," or a forty-dollar hat from a fashionable milliner; each man when he buys his six-for-a-quarter cigars or his four-dollar derby—every insignificant part of the millions of purchases made each day, guides, controls, nay, *moves*, this wheel. And because women do the lion's share of shopping for the community, and thus contribute most to the power that keeps the wheel in motion, the appeal of the Consumers' League has always been directed especially to them.

For the most part, too, this appeal has been directed to members of the leisure class. Under even the best conditions, the individuals of this class consume far more than they produce; and the purchasing power of one woman among them is greater often than the combined power of a dozen workingwomen. Also, working men and women have a power of their own to further their industrial welfare, and the trade union educates them in many of the very principles which it is the purpose of the Consumers' League to establish. The curious structure of society completely hides these wealth-producers from the normal view of the numerically small but economically powerful class of wealth-consumers; and it is to establish the economic relationship between these two classes—or rather to point out the intimate and often tragic relationship that already exists—that the Consumers' League has especially directed its efforts.

Can it be done? Let the story of the facts answer.

Just twenty years ago, a group of women in New York, appalled by the discovery of certain conditions in a large retail store, began an inquiry into the conditions under which saleswomen and cash-girls worked. So apparent was the difficulty of forming an effective organization among the unskilled young workers in the store that a committee was formed with the purpose of organizing the influence which could be exerted by the customers of this and other stores. The first step taken by this committee was the compiling of a list to "keep shoppers informed of such shops as deal justly with their employees, and so bring public opinion to bear in favor of just employers, and also in favor of such employers as desire to be just, but are prevented by the stress of competition from following their sense of duty."

This was the birth of the Consumers' League. At its very inception it thus affirmed that there is an element of morality in the act of buying which is too often ignored; and that, while cheapness *as* cheapness is not being attacked, some of the worst evils from which wage-earners suffer are traceable directly to the thoughtless buying which demands the cheapest market, regardless of how that cheapness is acquired; that it is therefore not only the privilege but the duty of consumers to satisfy themselves as to the conditions under which their purchases are made and distributed.

When this principle was first applied, by the setting of a standard of employment conditions and publishing a list of merchants who conformed to it, it was by no means a universally popular step.

"How would you like me to walk into your kitchen and ask how many hours your cook works, and whether she is allowed to sit down during the day?" an irascible employer once demanded of the writer.

"If you should eat the food she cooks, and pay me for it, you would have every right to this or any other information as to how your food was prepared—nothing could be more your business," I replied.

A frequent and more disinterested criticism against the publication of "White Lists" has characterized them as thinly disguised boycotts. These critics, by their objection, practically reject the whole theory of the responsibility of consumers. A vague sense of responsibility is about as effective as none at all. Each individual must apply that sense to the practical affairs of life, if it is to be felt. Thus, when a woman, by supporting an indorsed employer, not only encourages him in his enlightened policy, but also stimulates a hesitating brother merchant to follow along, she has given a practical value to

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her sense of responsibility. The publication of the names of a group of merchants for the guidance of shoppers with a wide-awake conscience can no more be condemned as an act of boycott than can the publication of a list of satisfactory hotels by Baedeker for the guidance of tourists on the lookout for their creature comforts.

The standard required of every firm before acceptance on the White List covered hours, wages, physical conditions, holidays, obedience to the law, and general behavior toward employees. In time it became evident, however, that in certain essential things it was necessary for the better employers to be protected against the less enlightened policy of competitors who were not so sensitive to public opinion; the most direct means of securing such protection was clearly the passage and enforcement of a law before which all employers should be equal. The enactment of the Mercantile Employers Act in 1896 was the first important step thus taken by New York State for the protection of children and women employed in retail stores.

While the Consumers' League was thus establishing its influence in New York City, sister leagues were springing into life in other communities, with the same basis of appeal. In 1895 the idea caught in Pennsylvania, followed by a League in Illinois in 1897, and one in Massachusetts in 1898. Then came a new stage in the development of the movement.

It was felt that this newly recognized responsibility could not logically stop with local conditions in retail stores; that behind these visible workers in each community was an army of unseen toilers, the product of whose labor was distributed far and wide through the land. To find out some of the facts which controlled the lives of these workers and to make them known to the public which buys the product of their hands was felt to be the next most vital undertaking. In May, 1898, a conference of all the existing Leagues was called to consider the formation of one organization with a Nation-wide scope and a Nation-wide interest at heart; and just a year later the National Consumers' League began its work, with Mrs. Florence Kelley as its General Secretary.

The first efforts of the National body were given to diagnosing the case of the clothing trades. Even without preliminary investigation it had been apparent that this industry in its several branches leaned especially heavily upon woman and child workers, and to those whose occupation brought them into contact with the poorer residents of the large cities some of its most serious evils were already known.

The basis of appeal of the National Consumers' League was identical with that of the local branches, and its method of gaining its end was therefore similar—*i. e.*, the setting of a standard, and the encouragement of employers (in this case manufacturers) to conform to it by winning the support of the consumers of their products. Investigation had shown that there were four chief evils to be combated: child labor, the sweating system, unduly long and irregular hours of work, and disregard of such laws as already existed. In support of such factories as were free from these unwholesome conditions, and as a guarantee to the public, the Consumers' League devised a label to be placed on stitched underwear—a trade not covered by the trade unions' labels—and granted the use of this label to approved manufacturers.

The immediate task of the Consumers' League was now to find these factories, to educate the purchasing public into demanding goods bearing the label, and thus to gain the co-operation of both the manufacturer and distributer of these goods. Not a very long time was required to demonstrate again what had similarly become apparent to the New York City League in its early days—viz., that legislation alone can prove an adequate foundation upon which to maintain an effective standard of industrial conditions. Thereupon was begun a systematic and continuous endeavor to secure better legislation and to defend existing laws, which has resulted within the last two years in obtaining two of the most important decisions favorably affecting labor that the Supreme Courts of State or Nation have been called upon to render.

A scrutiny of this brief history of early development reveals the four distinct methods by which the Consumers' League undertakes to win its purpose. Shortly expressed, they are: first, the essential

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step of investigation; second, the creation of standards in conditions of employment, by conference and co-operation with the best employers; third, the securing of necessary legislation and its enforcement, and of judicial decisions affecting labor conditions, so that these standards shall be rendered permanent and of universal application; fourth, the education of the buying public into showing a watchful and intelligent interest in the sources of its purchases, and so directing its purchasing power that its whole mighty force shall be thrown into the balance for industrial fairness and justice.

The following stories in this account of work done, and still to be done, will be of value to the reader only as they are regarded as concrete expressions of these methods.

Each local League has found its work cut out for it according to the character and special needs of its own community. The League in New York City, after having successfully launched the movement, proceeded to grapple with New York's most serious industrial disease—sweated labor in the tenements. The now familiar term "child labor" was then on the lips of only a few, who even at that time began the effort for its elimination from tenements, stores, and factories—an effort which later became so enlarged that it was taken over by a special committee, now well known as the New York Child Labor Committee.

Though the blot of tenement-house labor still remains upon the industries of New York, an extensive system of legislation and inspection to enforce it now does as much as can be done to counteract the evils of a system which a more advanced civilization will utterly reject. And to-day the regard of New York State for the welfare of her children at work outside of their homes is expressed in a law which forbids all children under sixteen from work in factories before 8 A.M. or after 5 P.M., or in stores after 7 P.M., and requires that no boy under twenty-one years of age shall be used in messenger service after 10 P.M. or before 5 A.M.

The Consumers' League of Massachusetts, following the tradition in that State, has constantly applied educational methods in gaining its ends. The theory of the label is based upon the education of the shopping public; and in Massachusetts the demand for the label has always been more widespread and more persistent than in any other place. It is significant, too, that of all the manufacturers privileged to use the label over one-third are situated in Massachusetts. The most recent application of the White List idea has provided householders in and near Boston with a list of bakeries in which cleanliness and fair conditions of work are assured.

In Illinois, with its great tumultuous heart of toil, the children have been the first—almost the sole—care of the Consumers' League. It was here that the first eight-hour day for working children was established. Here, too, was won the first victory over the Theater Trust in the banishing of children under sixteen from the stage at night.

Within a year, however, Illinois has been the scene of a successful judicial struggle waged by the National Consumers' League in co-operation with the local trade unions and other societies in behalf of the workingwomen of the State. With an almost inspired faith in the tendencies of the times, the last Legislature of Illinois, in spite of a Supreme Court decision in 1895 declaring a similar law unconstitutional, passed a measure limiting the hours of work of women to ten in a day, which the Factory Inspector was almost immediately enjoined from enforcing. At once the National Consumers' League came to the aid of the law. Through the good offices of Mr. Louis Brandeis as counsel, it assisted in obtaining from the Supreme Court of the State, in April, 1910, a decision which pronounced the law within the Constitution, thus reversing the opinion delivered by that same Court fifteen years before. The evidence presented to the Court was gathered by the Consumers' League from the statements of employers, workers, and physicians here and abroad, and produced an array of facts the force of which is best expressed by a quotation from the Illinois decision:

"What we know as men we cannot profess to be ignorant of as judges. . . . The changing conditions of society have made an imperative call upon the State

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for the exercise of [these] additional powers, . . . and it is the duty of the Court to sustain them whenever it is found that they are based upon the idea of the promotion and protection of society."

The Consumers' League of Philadelphia found itself established in a State more conservative than her sister industrial States, and perhaps more dominated by her mining and manufacturing interests, so that only comparatively recently has she acquired any degree of the public sentiment which for years has in some measure protected the wage-earners of Massachusetts, New York, and Illinois.

The task of persuading the incredulous or indifferent citizens of the Keystone State has not been an easy one. Even seeing has not always been believing, for there are some things which it is not possible to see at a glance. For instance, only very recently a distinguished writer in The Outlook [1] doubted whether the work done by the girls in a silk-throwing mill actually seems as monotonous to the girls as it does to some reformers. Now, the monotonous nature of work of this kind is one of the chief reasons for the limitation of the hours of labor for young people in occupations which are not in themselves necessarily arduous, but which tend to thwart and deaden every normal impulse of the growing girl or boy. To one who has worked by the side of these young people for days at a time, as I have, the matter is perfectly apparent. The expressions which I have heard as the day advanced—"O God! I'm tired!"—"Won't the day never end?"; the continuous volley of questions, "Say, what's the time?" directed at me as the discovered possessor of a watch; the lethargy of some girls, so great at times that the most direct questions elicited nothing more than a grunt of indifference, and their attitude of dejection as they shuffled from one side of their frame to the other—all this spoke an unmistakable language to one who watched them as a fellow-worker throughout the long hours of the day. The writer who expressed his doubt of this saw these workers when they were thrilled and excited by their unusual visitor (for even an ordinary visitor is almost unknown); and their answers to his questions perfectly coincided with their universal desire not to be pitied, but to an outsider to "seem as good as any one." It is only to be expected that a visit of this kind should prove misleading even to one who really desires to get at the truth of things.

The difficulty of securing from the general public a recognition of the conditions and demands of modern industry upon its workers is therefore very apparent. One of the efforts by which the Consumers' League, in co-operation with two other societies, sought to win this recognition was by an industrial exhibit, held six years ago. Here the public was first brought into direct contact with living workers from city sweat-shops, and was given a chance to see, represented by life-size tableaux, the work in mines and factories as it is done by the young people of Pennsylvania. Exhibitions of this kind had already been held in Germany and England, but this was the first effort to present facts in this form to an American public.

Many school-girls were brought in groups by their teachers to see this exhibit, and their visits brought about another and more widespread educational movement. Consumers' Leagues had existed in some of the women's colleges for several years; but the idea of systematically establishing chapters of the local League in near-by colleges and schools was first begun in Philadelphia, in the belief that the students are none too young to have their minds trained and their help sought in matters concerning the lives of girls no older than themselves, but from whom modern society has removed its traditional protection and solicitude. The results have strengthened opinion into conviction. The girls in the chapter think twice before they give a rush order to their dressmaker or start a shopping tour after the Saturday matinée. The sort of consideration which is being developed among these school and college girls is expressed clearly in the following extracts from the "pledge card" devised by the Consumers' League of Bryn Mawr College and signed by each student on joining:

I. I will make a great effort to finish my Christmas shopping before December 15.

II. I will write to at least three Philadel-

[1] "The Coal Miner at Home," by Theodore Roosevelt, The Outlook, December 24, 1910.

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phia stores, asking them not to keep open overtime during the holiday season.

III. I will make a great effort to patronize "White List" stores only.

IV. I will make a practice of asking for "label" goods; and, whenever possible, will refuse to take any other.

V. I will read systematically for at least one hour a month in the Consumers' League Library, choosing whichever one I prefer of the groups of Recommended Readings.

VI. I will subscribe for "The Survey," and read it regularly.

VII. I will try (*a*) to discuss what I read with other people in College; and (*b*) to interest people outside in the work of the Consumers' League.

An interest of this kind is not extinguished by graduation. Each girl is expected to carry it into her own home community and spread it there; and this expectation is realized in the fact that in several towns in Pennsylvania, at least, the first impetus toward considering the welfare of the workers there has come from a graduate member of a college or school League.

There have been many expressions of this new-found interest in Philadelphia, but none louder or more forcible than that signified by the concerted action of the great merchants and the Christmas shoppers in the last holiday season.

Six years ago a nightly tour of the retail shopping district was made for two weeks before Christmas. Earlier in the year a law had been passed in Pennsylvania, with a provision limiting the hours of work for women to ten in a day during this season. In spite of this regulation, the employees of practically every store in a radius of five blocks of the central shopping district stated that they were required to work from 8 A.M. until the closing hour at night—in some cases on alternate days, in others continuously every day. And no manager who was interviewed was aware of any regulation prohibiting such overtime.

Late one Saturday night the League's investigators left a store after talking to several weary girls who confessed to having worked a continuous fourteen hours a day for ten days past. Two nights later, when we returned there to find if our complaint to the official department had brought the needed relief, one of the girls said: "Do you know, after you was in here asking questions that night, three of the girls right here on the floor fainted dead away. You oughter seen that! That was the worst day ever!"

In 1910, that same establishment was visited at 9:15 on the night of December 14. "We close at 9:30, and I came in at ten this morning," the girl replied, in answer to our questions, volunteering further: "The girls under eighteen has to git out at nine sharp. Gee! Don't I wish I was under eighteen!"

Improved though it was, even this store was an undesirable exception in 1910. For the Christmas of that year saw in Philadelphia a movement in behalf of the women and children in the stores and the boys and men of the delivery service such as has not been paralleled in any other large city in the country.

This general closing began in 1909, when about five thousand interested women seized upon a suggestion of the Consumers' League and wrote personal letters to the leading merchants, urging them to reduce the number of open nights. Quick to respond to the wishes of the public, the customary ten nights was cut to five. In 1910 another and equally powerful factor entered the situation in the shape of a new law requiring, among other things, that no girl under eighteen be employed after 9 P.M. In addition to the usual reminder sent each year by the Consumers' League to the merchants since the discovery of the prevailing ignorance of the law six years ago, the Department of Factory Inspection late in November officially notified every employer of the new regulations.

The result was inevitable. The enlightened public and the newspapers were incessantly urging, "Shop early;" the law demanded that a large proportion of their employees be dismissed at nine o'clock. The reply of the merchants to this combination, first over the telephone to the Consumers' League, and next day in the daily newspaper advertisement, was, "This store closes at six o'clock throughout the holiday season"! And, with the exception of a few cheap candy and trinket shops, small stores followed suit. Thus, after years of prodding the public and persuading the merchants, a victory for about forty thousand workers in Philadelphia was won, and Pittsburgh, joining

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hands with her larger sister, conferred the same boon upon her working citizens and children.

Manufacturers, too, have not been slow to feel the keener eye of this new public interest and criticism turned on them. Only two summers ago I was obliged to record the shameful neglect of the welfare of the girls in two mills in Lackawanna County in which I worked. One of these mills was visited, less than a year ago, by a committee of women in the town, and the shocking lack of cleanliness and sanitation was found to have been replaced by new and adequate sanitary provisions. In the other mill, which happened to be the one visited last summer by Mr. Roosevelt, I had worked in July, 1909, across the aisle from a group of girls who stood at work for five days in a wide shallow pool which escaped from under the door of a broken toilet—the only one available for the fifty or sixty girls on that floor. In 1910, not only did Mr. Roosevelt report the mill as clean and sanitary, but the very man who advised me to seek work there on account of its evil conditions told me last summer, when I visited the place, that the girls said that everything was wonderfully improved. Whether the lower window sashes are still permanently fastened summer and winter, and whether the foreman continues to arraign brutally any girl who is caught sitting for a moment's rest on a pile of bobbins, in lieu of any other seat, I did not, at this last visit, ascertain.

The need of creating in manufacture the same sort of standard which now controls the provisions for employees in retail trade is painfully apparent. In Pennsylvania, at all events, the lunch and rest rooms, adequate toilet and washing facilities, and a proper supply of seats—all now a part of every large store's equipment—are rare exceptions in factories, where the need is even greater on account of the longer hours and the character of the work.

A White List of local factories cannot be compiled on the same basis as with stores which deal directly with the public, and yet the Consumers' League has long felt the want of some such standard in a manufacturing community like Philadelphia. As an attempt to meet this difficulty, the League there has commenced a systematic investigation of factories, which aims eventually to cover the city. All factories which then seem to comply with a required standard of wages, hours, and physical conditions are placed on an approved list, and applicants for work are received by the League and sent to any of these factories as they require workers.

This branch of the work is known as the Industrial Betterment Bureau, its purpose being to raise the standard of employment conditions as well as to divert people, especially girls and boys leaving school, from the worse to the better places; and the reasonableness of the request that the League's investigators be allowed to inspect a plant is usually justified for employers on this ground. This new attempt, which is less than a year old, is already throwing many side-lights into unexpected corners. A sickly and deformed boy of fourteen, who had just received his working certificate, was by mere chance overheard to remark that he had secured a job in a glass factory—this meaning, in Pennsylvania, alternate weeks of work all day and work all night. A horrified bystander happened to overhear this, and told the boy that he could get a better job by going to the Consumers' League. When the little fellow came, one glance was enough to show the need of a medical examination, and he was found to have tuberculosis of both lungs and of the spine. Except for the chance overhearing of the child's remark, he would have now been throwing away his last chance of life in the overheated atmosphere of a glass factory—largely because no physical standard and no physical examination are required of a child before he receives his work certificate.

Such oversights as these are due merely to unrecognized factors in industrial life; the comfort is that, as they are recognized by the public, so are they dealt with. The task of the Consumers' League, not only in the communities to which this sketch has necessarily been limited, but wherever industrial society hides its darker secrets, is to search out these secrets and place them as facts before the public, and then to make it clear that, after all, "the producing world is only the servant of the consuming world, and the final direction of industry lies with the consumers."

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LARKSPURS AND HOLLYHOCKS

BY ELISABETH WOODBRIDGE

"JONATHAN, let's not have a garden."

"What'll we live on if we don't?"

"Oh, of course, I don't mean that kind of a garden—peas and potatoes and things—I mean flowers. Let's not have a flower garden."

"That seems easy enough to manage," he ruminated; "the hard thing would be to have one."

"I know. And what's the use? There are always flowers enough, all around us, from May till October. Let's just enjoy them."

"I always have."

I looked at him to detect a possible sarcasm in the words, but his face was innocent.

"Well, of course, so have I. But what I mean is—people when they have a country place seem to spend such a lot of energy doing things for themselves that nature is doing for them just over the fence. There was Christabel Vincent last summer, grubbing over yellow lilies, or something, and I went over into the meadow and got a lovely armful of lilies and brought them in, and no grubbing at all."

"Perhaps grubbing was what she was after," said Jonathan.

"Well, anyway, she talked as if it was lilies."

"I don't know that that matters," he said. Jonathan is sometimes so acute about my friends that it is almost annoying.

This conversation was one of many that occurred the winter before we took up the farm. We went up in April that year, and we planted our corn and our potatoes and all the rest, but no flowers. That part we left to nature, and she responded most generously. From earliest spring until October—nay, November—we were never without flowers: brave little white saxifrage and hepaticas, first of all, then bloodroot and arbutus, adder's-tongue and columbine, shad-blow and dogwood, and all the beloved throng of them, at our feet and overhead. In May the pink azalea and the buttercups, in June the laurel and the daisies and—almost best of all—the dear clover. In summer the deep woods gave us orchids, and the open meadows lilies and black-eyed Susans. In September the river-banks and the brooks glowed for us with cardinal-flower and the blue lobelia, and then, until the frosts settled into winter, there were the fringed gentians and the asters and the golden-rod. And still the half has not been told. If I tried to name all that gay company, my tale would be longer than Homer's catalogue of the ships.

In early July a friend brought me in a big bunch of sweet peas. I buried my face in their sweetness, then, as I held them off, I sighed. "Oh, dear!" I said.

"What's oh, dear?" said Jonathan, as he took off his ankle-clips. He had just come up from the station on his bicycle.

"Nothing. Only why do people have magenta sweet peas with red ones and pink ones—that special pink? It's just the color of pink tooth-powder."

"You might throw away the ones you don't like."

"No, I can't do that. But why does anybody grow them? If I had sweet peas, I'd have white ones, and pale lavender ones, and those lovely salmon-pink ones, and maybe some pale yellow ones—"

"Sweet peas have to be planted in March," said Jonathan, as he trundled his wheel off toward the barn.

"Of course," I called after him. "I'm not *going* to plant any. I was only saying *if*."

Perhaps the sweet peas began it, but I really think the whole thing began with the phlox.

One afternoon in August I walked down the road through the woods to meet Jonathan. As he came up to me and dismounted I held out to him a spray of white phlox. "Where do you suppose I found it?" I asked.

"Down by the old Talcott place," he hazarded.

"No. There is some there, but this was growing under our crab-apple trees, right beside the house."

"Well, now, it must have been some of

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Aunt Deborah's. I remember hearing Uncle Ben say she used to have her garden there; that must have been before he started the crab orchard. Why, that phlox can't be less than forty years old, anyway."

"Dear me!" I took back the delicate spray; "it doesn't look it."

"No. Don't you wish you could look like that when you're forty?" he philosophized, and added, "Is there much of it?"

"Five or six roots, but there won't be many blossoms, it's so shady."

"We might move it and give it a chance."

"Let's! We'll dig it up this fall, and put it over on the south side of the house, in that sunny open place."

When October came, we took Aunt Deborah's phlox and transplanted it to where it could get the sunshine it had been starving for all those years. I sat on a stump and watched Jonathan digging the holes. "You don't suppose Henry will cut them down for weeds when they come up, do you?" I said.

"Seems probable," said Jonathan. "You might stick in a few bulbs that'll come up early and mark the spot."

"Oh, yes. And we could put a line of sweet alyssum along each side, to last along after the bulbs are over."

"You can do that in the spring if you want to. I'll bring up some bulbs tomorrow."

The winter passed and the spring came—sweet, tormenting.

"Jonathan," I said at luncheon one day, "I got the sweet alyssum seed this morning."

"Sweet alyssum?" He looked blank. "What do you want sweet alyssum for? It's a foolish flower. I thought you weren't going to have a garden, anyway."

"I'm not; but don't you remember about the phlox? We said we'd put in some sweet alyssum to mark it—so it wouldn't get cut down."

"The bulbs will do that, and when they're gone it will be high enough to show."

"Well, I have the seed, and I might as well use it. It won't do any harm."

"No, I don't believe sweet alyssum ever hurt anybody," said Jonathan.

That evening when he came in I met him in the hall. I had the florist's catalogue in my hand. "Jonathan, it says English daisies are good for borders."

"Borders! What do you want of borders?"

"Why, up on the farm—the phlox, you know."

"Oh, the phlox. I thought you had sweet alyssum for a border." He took off his coat and I drew him in to the study.

"Why, yes, but that was such a little package. I don't believe there would be enough. And I thought I could try the English daisies, too, and if one didn't do well perhaps the other would. And look what it says— No, never mind the newspaper yet—there isn't any news—just look at this about pansies."

"Pansies! You don't want *them* for a border!"

"Why, no, not exactly. But, you see, the phlox won't blossom till late August, and it says that if you plant this kind of pansies very early, they blossom in June, and then if you cover them they live over and blossom again the next May. And pansies are so lovely! Look at that picture! Don't you love those French-blue ones?"

"I like pansies. I don't know about the nationalities," said Jonathan. "Of course, if you want to bother with them, go ahead." He picked up his paper.

"Oh, it won't be any bother. They take care of themselves. Please, your pencil—I'm going to mark the colors I want."

We went up soon after to look at the farm. We found it very much as we had left it, except that there hung about it that indescribable something we call spring. We tramped about on the spongy ground, and sniffed the sweet air, and looked at the apple buds, and kicked up the soft, matted maple leaves to see the grass starting underneath. "Oh, Jonathan! Our bulbs!" I exclaimed. We hurried over to them and lifted up the thick blanket of leaves and hay we had left over them. "Look! A crocus!" I said.

"And here's a snowdrop! Let's take off these leaves and give them a chance."

"Dear me!" I sighed; "isn't it wonderful? To think those hard little bullets

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we put in last fall should do all this! And here's the phlox just starting—look!"

"Oh, you can't kill phlox," said Jonathan, imperturbably.

"All the better. I hate not giving people credit for things just because they come natural."

"That is a curious sentence," said Jonathan.

"Never mind. You know what I mean. You've understood a great many more curious ones than that. Listen, Jonathan. Why couldn't I put in my seeds now? I brought them along."

"Why—yes—it's pretty early for anything but peas, but you can try, of course. What are they? Sweet alyssum and pansy?"

"Yes—and I did get a few sweet peas too," I hesitated. "I thought Henry hadn't much to do yet, and perhaps he could make a trench—you know it needs a trench."

"Yes, I know," said Jonathan. I think he smiled. "Let's see your seeds."

"They're at the house. Come over to the south porch, where it's warm, and we'll plan about them."

I opened the bundle and laid out the little packets with their gay pictures indicating what the seeds within might be expected to do. "Sweet alyssum and pansies," I said, "and here are the sweet peas."

Jonathan took them—"'Dorothy Eckford, Lady Grisel Hamilton, Gladys Unwin, Early Dawn, White Spencer.' By George! you mean to keep Henry busy! Here's ten ounces of peas!"

"They were so much cheaper by the ounce," I murmured.

"And—hold up! Did you know they gave you some asters? These aren't sweet peas."

"No—I know—but I thought—you see sweet peas are over by August, and asters go on all through October—don't you remember what lovely ones Christabel had?"

"Hm! But isn't the world full of asters, anyway, in September and October, without your planting any more?" He grinned a little. "I thought that was your idea—you said Christabel grubbed so."

"Why, yes; but asters aren't any trouble. You just put them in—"

"And weed them."

"Yes—and weed them; but I wouldn't mind that."

"But here's some larkspur!"

"Yes, but I didn't buy that," I explained, hurriedly. "Christabel sent me that. She thought *I* might like some from her garden—she has such lovely larkspurs, don't you remember? And I just brought them along."

"Yes. So I see. Is that all you've just brought along?"

"Yes—except the cosmos. The florist advised that, and I thought there might be a place for it over by the fence. And of course we needn't use it if we don't want to. I can give it to Mrs. Stone."

"But here's some nasturtium!"

"Oh—I forgot about them—but I didn't buy them either. They came from the Department of Agriculture or something. There were some carrots and parsnips, and things like that, too, all in a big brown envelope. I knew you had all the other things you wanted, so I just brought these. But of course I don't have to plant *them*, either."

"But you don't like nasturtiums. You've always said they made you think of railway stations and soldiers' homes—"

"Well, I did use to feel that way—anchors and crosses and rock work on big shaved lawns—and besides, nasturtiums always seemed to be the sort of flowers that people picked with short stems, and tied up in a wad, and stuck in a blue-glass goblet, and set on a table with a red cover on it. I did have horrible associations with nasturtiums."

"Then why in thunder do you plant them?"

"I only thought—if there was a drought this summer—you know they don't mind drought; Millie Sutphen told me that. And she had a way of cutting them with long stems, so they trailed, and they were really lovely. And then—there the package *was*—I thought it wouldn't do any harm to take it."

"Oh, you don't have to apologize," said Jonathan. "I didn't understand your plan, that was all. I'll go and see Henry about the trench."

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I sat on the sunny porch and the March wind swept by the house on each side of me. I gloated over my seed packets. Would they come up? Of course other people's seeds came up, but would mine? It was very exciting. I pinched open a corner of the Lady Grisel Hamiltons and poured some of the pretty, smooth, fawn-colored balls into my hand. Then I opened the cosmos—what funny long thin ones! How long should I have to wait till they began to come up? I read the directions—"Plant when all danger from frost is past." Oh, dear! that meant May—another whole month! Well, I would get in my sweet peas and risk my pansies and alyssum, anyhow. And I jumped off the porch and went back to the phlox to plan out my campaign.

By early May we were settled on the farm once more. My pansies and alyssum were up—at least I believed they were up, but I spent many minutes of each day kneeling by them and studying the physiognomy of their cotyledons. I led Jonathan out to them one Sunday morning, and he regarded them with indulgence if not with enthusiasm. As he stooped to throw out a bunch of pebbles in one of the new beds I stopped him. "Oh, don't! Those are my Mizpah stones."

"Your what!"

"Why, just some little stones to mark a place. Some of the nasturtiums are there. I didn't know whether they were going to do anything—they looked so like chips—and then, being sent free that way—but they are."

"How do you know? They aren't up."

"No, but they will be soon. I—why, I just thought I'd see what they were doing."

"So you dug them up?" he probed.

"Not them—just *it*—just one. That's why I marked the place. I didn't want to keep disturbing different ones. Now what *are* you laughing at? Wouldn't you have wanted to know? And you wouldn't want to dig up different ones all the time! I don't know much about gardening, but—"

"I'm not laughing," said Jonathan. "Of course I should have wanted to know. And it is certainly better not to dig up different ones. There! Have I put your Mizpah back right?"

A few days later Jonathan wheeled into the yard and over near where I was kneeling by the phlox. "I saw a lady-slipper bud almost out to-day," he said.

"Did you? Look at my sweet alyssum. It's grown an inch since yesterday," I said. "Don't you think I could plant my cosmos and asters now?"

"Thunder!" said Jonathan; "don't you care more about the pink lady-slipper than about your blooming little sweet alyssum?"

"Why, yes, of course. I *love* lady-slippers. You know I do," I protested, "only—you see—I can't explain exactly—but—it seems to make a difference when you plant a thing yourself. And, oh, Jonathan! Won't you *please* come here and tell me if these are young pansies or only plantain? I'm so afraid of pulling up the wrong thing. I do wish somebody would make a book with pictures of all the cotyledons of all the different plants. It's so confusing. Millie had an awful time telling marigold from ragweed last summer. She had to break off a tip of each leaf and taste it. Why do you just stand there looking like that? Please come and help."

But Jonathan did not move. He stood, leaning on his wheel, regarding me with open amusement, and possibly a shade of disapproval.

"Lord!" he finally remarked; "you've got it!"

"Got what?" I said, though I knew.

"The garden germ."

Yes. There was no denying it. I had it. I have it still, and there is very little chance of my shaking it off. It is a disease that grows with what it feeds on. Now and then, indeed, I make a feeble fight against its inroads: I will *not* have another flower-bed, I will *not* have any more annuals, I will have only things that live on from year to year and take care of themselves— But—

"Alas, alas, repentance oft before
I swore—but was I sober when I swore?
And then—and then—came Spring—"

and the florists' catalogues! And is any one who has once given way to them proof against the seductions of those catalogues?

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Those asters! Those larkspurs! Those foxgloves and poppies and Canterbury bells! All that ravishing company, mine at the price of a few cents and a little grubbing. Mine! There is the secret of it. Out in the great and wonderful world beyond my garden Nature works her miracles constantly. She lays her riches at my feet; they are mine for the gathering. But to work these miracles myself—to have my own little hoard that looks to me for tending, for very life—that is a joy by itself. My little garden-bed gives me something that all the luxuriance of woods and fields can never give—not better, not so good, perhaps, but different. Once having known the thrill of watching the first tiny shoot from a seed that I have planted myself, once having followed it to leaf and flower and seed again, I can never give it up.

My garden is not very big nor very beautiful. Perhaps the stretch of rocks and grass and weeds beside the house—an expanse which not even the wildest flight of the imagination could call a lawn—perhaps this might be more pleasing if the garden were not there, but it is there, and there it will stay. It means much grubbing. Just putting in seeds and then weeding is, I find, no mere affair of rhetoric. Moreover, I am introduced through my garden to an entirely new set of troubles—beetles and cutworms and moles and hens and a host of marauding creatures above ground and below, whose number and energy amaze me. And each summer seems to add to their variety and resourcefulness. Clearly, the pleasures of a garden are not commensurate with its pains. And yet—

But there is one kind of joy which it gives me at which even the Scoffer—to wit, Jonathan—does not scoff. It began with Aunt Deborah's phlox. Then came Christabel's larkspur. The next summer Mrs. Stone sent me over some of her hardy little fall asters—"artemishy," she called them. And Anne Stafford sent on some hollyhock seeds culled from Emerson's garden. And Great-Aunt Sarah was dividing her peony roots, and said I might take one. And Cousin Patty asked me if I wouldn't like some of her mother's old-fashioned pinks. And so it goes.

And so it will go, I hope, to the end of the long day. Each year my garden has in it more of my friends, and as I look at it I can adopt poor Ophelia's pretty speech in a new meaning, and say, "Larkspur—that's for remembrance; hollyhocks—that's for thoughts." Remembrance of all those dear other gardens which I have come to know, and in whose beauties I am coming to have a share; thoughts of all those dear other gardeners upon whom, as upon me, the miracle of the seed has laid a spell from which they can never escape.

NOTABLE PICTURES IN AMERICA[1]

BY ELBERT F. BALDWIN

THE death of John La Farge calls attention to an important work of which he was one of the compilers. It was begun two years ago. The work is to consist of fifteen volumes, each of from four hundred to five hundred pages of imperial folio size, bound in vellum, with an average of fifty photogravures a volume. Each volume is to be accompanied by a book of bibliography of small size. Moreover, a portfolio containing a duplicate set of the photogravures accompanies each volume. The price is to be fifteen thousand dollars a set!

Up to the present time the publishers have spent over a hundred and thirty thousand dollars on the undertaking. Much more money will be spent. The mere manual labor involved is considerable, for the pictures have to be lifted down from the walls and taken out of their frames—a work to be done only by

[1] Noteworthy Paintings in American Private Collections. Edited by John La Farge and August F. Jaccaci. The August F. Jaccaci Company, New York.

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trustworthy persons to whom the collectors can, with absolute confidence, intrust the handling of their treasures. Some fifteen hundred photographs have already been taken, and at least five thousand more must be taken before the work is done, because of the pictures of which negatives are made a limited number only are used, and because several negatives of a subject are often taken before a satisfactory one is obtained. Moreover, to photograph paintings well is an exceedingly difficult art. Few are adepts at it. Then extreme care must be taken in the next steps of the process, the development of the plates and the printing of the proofs. When the negative finally reaches the hands of the engraver, new problems arise in the comparison of proofs with the original pictures, again and again entailing expensive journeys, the study of tints and lines, and the raising or lowering of the values. Thus the startling price of a thousand dollars a volume becomes more understandable. So much for illustration.

The time of publication of the monumental work here outlined is appropriate. Perhaps never again will America enjoy such an era of phenomenal development as has been that of the past two decades. Advance has been made in practically every field of progress. The result has been to give to the United States definite rank as a world power. In his Harvard lectures the late Charles Eliot Norton always emphasized the fact that art arose when there was a sufficient commercial foundation to establish political and industrial strength. America has been no exception to this rule. First of all, the production of our art has felt this impetus. Second, the collection by Americans of the examples of the art of all time and all countries has also felt the benefit. Not only have many millions of dollars been spent by Americans in buying every variety of objects of art, but entire collections have been bought outright and brought to this country.

Up to the present time no one has had an adequate notion either of the total number of American collections or of the pictures in them. In the present work Mr. La Farge and Mr. Jaccaci did not contemplate giving any complete catalogue of such pictures. They only contemplated offering a selected list, and their measure of selection is the capacity of any painting in American private collections to be distinctly noteworthy in the art education of a whole people. Moreover, by such publication they purpose to dissipate the silly notion once prevailing, that, if American collections were not merely the flotsam and jetsam of Europe, we certainly had no masterpieces of European art.

The first volume of the great work of Messrs. La Farge and Jaccaci has now been published. It should do a great deal towards emphasizing American satisfaction in American possessions—not only in very recent possessions, but in those which have been in this country for many years. The Jarves collection of primitives at Yale University is a case in point; but when the famous German art critic, Dr. Bode, was in America in 1893, he did not visit even this collection. Again, take the pictures of the Barbizon school, which began to be collected here during the days of William Hunt, who was Millet's admirer and patron even before that great artist was recognized in France. Moreover, many pictures of the Walters, Belmont, Vanderbilt, and other collections belong to another generation than ours. Finally, as to masterpieces, one has but to turn to the King of Naples's Raphael, owned by Mr. Morgan, or to Lord Ilchester's Rembrandt, owned by Mr. Frick.

Let it not be hastily assumed that Mr. Morgan, Mr. Frick, Mr. Freer, Mr. Hearn, Mr. Evans, and other well-known collectors of pictures are collecting them simply because they are rich men and have means for such a pastime. Collecting is not merely a pastime, and has never been a mere question of means. To gather pictures together one needs time, knowledge, experience. Money is, of course, a necessary factor, but money does not make a collection. A collection belies its name unless it represents quality, and quality is never assured by one who possesses money and does not possess the necessary knowledge.

Hence the work planned by Mr. La Farge and Mr. Jaccaci will be a great deal more than a mere showing of what Americans have in the way of noteworthy paintings; the American collectors

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themselves should be more highly appreciated by their countrymen than hitherto.

These things being settled, perhaps the most striking feature of the new work is its expert consensus of criticism. Mere emotional and sensational criticism is ruled out, as it should be. Only really interpretative criticism is admitted. Such criticism rationalizes our æsthetic experiences, and, in particular, it shows us that an unexamined æsthetic experience is hardly worth having. It realizes the ambition of the editors of the work in indicating that a thorough and serious consideration of any achievement in art is not only important but vital. The pegs on which such a consensus of expert opinion are hung are formed by those pictures which, as Mr. Jaccaci happily says, "possess an active immortality."

The plan of the work includes a general article on each collection, a catalogue of the pictures selected, and special essays on each of these pictures. In the initial volume Sir Martin Conway, Mr. La Farge, Mr. Isham, and Mr. Kenyon Cox are the authors of the articles. As a type of the rest, let us take Sir Martin Conway's article. It describes the John Hay Collection. Sir Martin is well known as a lecturer and writer on many topics. He is not an artist, but he is a great connoisseur. The editors of "Noteworthy Paintings" asked him to come to America for the special purpose of describing the John Hay Collection, because of his great admiration for Mr. Hay, of his catholic attitude towards art, and of his close knowledge of the American people. The result has been an illuminating article, which, as Mr. Jaccaci thinks, has the value of a psychological study. It also stands "as a revelation of an important and most characteristic side of a great man, a side which has been known only to his intimates." Henceforth the name of John Hay, besides being that of a statesman, a historian, and a litterateur, will also be known by people of culture at large as that of an enthusiastic and most discriminating art lover.

Sir Martin Conway's essay and the others included in the volume show that it is practically impossible to isolate art from history, or to estimate a single work without reference to the whole body of art. Mr. La Farge and Mr. Jaccaci realized this from the start, and therefore, in addition to the articles on the various collections, provided that each separate picture should be the subject of special studies, historical, æsthetic, critical, from the best accredited specialists on the schools and painters represented. As no painting is reproduced which has not been discussed and passed upon by recognized authorities, "Noteworthy Paintings" will represent not only a "censensus of judgment as to selection, but also as to criticism." Of course one does not expect all critics to agree, and this too has been realized by the editors; however brilliant a single essay might be, they felt that, if several papers of diversified interest could be secured, the result would be much broader, fuller, and more searching. We have thus a work of signal help to all who are earnestly interested in art.

Only a very few, of course, will be able to buy such books as are here described—indeed, but one hundred and twenty-six copies are to be printed. But most of them will doubtless be secured by libraries and museums, and will thus be made easy of access. In this way they will take their part in the general education of all the people, whether poor or rich. The lofty ideal which has animated the editors will also act as a guide to future educators in art subjects. This ideal should emphasize the fact that education in art is not a mere description, however good, of an object of art; that it is not a mere criticism, however brilliant. It is the patient, painstaking education of a whole people in the ability to appreciate. As Sir Martin Conway, in his article on Mr. Hay's collection, well says: "It is evident that each generation has its merits and good points, and what it likes must be, in a measure, likeworthy, whether we share the taste for it or not; hence there is never any occasion to prove that what any generation of men admires has merit. The only question for us is whether we can or cannot honestly see and enjoy the qualities in such works that were seen and enjoyed by the people for whom they were made. . . . It is ourselves that such pictures test, not we them."

This great work will not be the possession of wealthy individuals alone. Most

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of the copies will doubtless be owned by national and municipal galleries, museums and libraries, where the volumes will be readily accessible to any student of art. For that student's ease and comfort one wishes that the books were half as thick, and that the set were to consist, not of fifteen, but of thirty volumes.

THE NEW BOOKS

"The Cabin," by Stewart Edward White, is an extremely cheerful record of delightful experiences in building and inhabiting a forest summer home up on the heights of the Sierras. The work was really play, because it was done for love—love of the mountains and the woods, and love, too, of the work itself. The cabin-builders learned to know some of the woodland people, and the book contains not a little human nature as well as out-of-door nature. We are particularly glad to meet again our old friend California John, a sturdy and adaptable person who is taken, as we understand it, from real life, and who is perhaps the most notable character in Mr. White's recent story "The Rules of the Game." We doubt if any of the books which this author has written about the woods and hills is more readable or more varied in its interest than "The Cabin." The publishers have given the book a notably handsome form, and it is illustrated with many photographs. (Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. $1.50.)

One of the most promising American novels of the present season is Mr. Henry Sydnor Harrison's "Queed." It is perfectly easy to point out defects in this story—the love interest is slight, some parts of the book are prolix, the construction is flimsy—yet it has really remarkable character interest, is decidedly original in theme, and is written in a quietly effective way. The subject is the humanizing of the arid, unsympathetic young economist Queed, who lives only in the great work he is writing, and neither knows nor cares about men, women, or children. This bloodless scholar seems grotesque at first thought, but is made to appear real, even if a little exaggerated. His introduction to the realities and emotions of life, first through a little girl, then through a tough but kindly bruiser who teaches him that he must care for his body if his mind is to work, then through Queed's discovery that his abstract economic editorials were not read at all and that he must "know life or lose his job," finally by admiration ripening into love for a young woman who gives him in plain words a drastic analysis of his human worthlessness. The transformation is exceedingly gradual, and is both amusing and thought-provoking in its narration. In contrast to Queed we have a brilliant young man who has every possible social and intellectual advantage but fails to stand the test of putting the general welfare before personal ambition. Incidentally the story gives agreeable pictures of society and public life in a Southern city. (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $1.50.)

A capital subject for a popular nature book has been found by Mr. Houghton Townley in his "English Woodlands and Their Story." Who that has visited England or read English history and literature would not like to know more about the great English forests which are guarded by the nation to this day for their beauty as well as for their historical interest? The very names Windsor Forest, New Forest, Epping Forest, Sherwood Forest (with its traditions of Robin Hood), and Burnham Beeches are attractive and inviting. The author has treated his subject with many references to the literary and traditional aspects, has narrated the stories of the forests in an animated way, has illustrated his book with excellent camera work of his own, and altogether has made a volume very well worth a place on library shelves. (E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $5.)

Let no one expect to find in the Rev. J. Wood Brown's "Florence Past and Present" an account of the rise of the Commune, the progress of the Arti, or the days of the Medici; instead, he will find an account of much earlier occurrences, of that long-ago volcanic upheaval responsible for the course of the river Arno, about that river itself as a determinant of early trade routes, about the Etruscans of Fiesole, about the rise of the Roman power, about the first settlements in Florence, about its primitive manufactures, about the early Tuscan language, and about the early customs, especially the feasts and their connection with those of our own time. If the volume is thus disappointing in what we had expected and seems more prosaic than if it treated of a past closer to us, the reader is sure to be well rewarded in obtaining information nowhere else, so far as we know, so well collected and condensed. (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.50.)

The ninth volume (Petri—Reuchlin) of the "New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge" gives further evidence of the valuable work of American editors and contributors. But for their supplements the treatment, *e.g.*, of Providence and of Rationalism would have been defective, and for lack of such rounding out the article on "Resurrec-

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tion of the Dead" is unsatisfactory. A wide contemporary interest appears in such articles as those on the "Philippines," "Prison Reform," "Psychotherapy." Open-mindedness also is conspicuous in the treatment of "Psychical Research" and "The Future Life." A valuable monograph of thirty-two pages on the "History of Preaching" reviews nineteen centuries, and takes a hopeful outlook into the twentieth. (The Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York. $5.)

The last Prince of Wales of the native line died in 1282. Prior to that date Welsh history was naturally more Welsh than it has been since, and therefore more interesting. We are not surprised, then, that the latest "History of Wales" considers only that early period. The two volumes are the work of John Edward Lloyd, Professor of History in the University College of North Wales, at Bangor. The volumes throw much and valuable light on very early times, indeed on such dim periods of time as the palæolithic and neolithic ages and the bronze age, and those very early civilizations of which we have remains in Druidism, then on the Roman, Brythonic, and Norman conquests, on the monastic founders of the Welsh Church, on the Welsh tribal divisions and the distinctive Welsh social institutions, finally on the Welsh as they were developed under Llewellyn, or Llywelyn, as Mr. Lloyd spells it. Then came the Edwardian conquest, which forms a natural termination to Mr. Lloyd's history. The conquest made Wales English—to use a Hibernicism. But Welsh nationality still lives, an enduring fabric. (Longmans, Green & Co., New York. $6.)

"William Hogarth," by Edward Garnett, is the latest addition to the "Popular Library of Art." The series numbers such readable appreciations as Mrs. Ady's "Botticelli," Gronau's "Leonardo," Bréal's "Velasquez" and "Rembrandt," and Chesterton's "Blake" and "Watts." This latest biography is worth while, if only for Mr. Garnett's protest against Hogarth's ill-defined place in the ranks of British artists. Why should it longer be ill defined? Surely, if any one rescued British art from the stigma of being "a feeble echo of foreign voices," he was the man. Surely in point of creative force Hogarth stands in the front rank. Surely none exceeded him either in a robust realism or in a relentless delineation of the "actual passions and humors of human nature." But, like many advocates, Mr. Garnett is not satisfied with making his point. He must needs go on, apparently to belittle some British artists from Hogarth's time to ours. Aside from this, the actual biography seems excellent, though hardly great. (E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 75 cents.)

A very thorough piece of work on a fascinating subject is Mr. W. R. Cattelle's book on "The Diamond." This precious stone the author considers "the most generally known and admired among the permanent things of beauty which nature has provided for man." He studies his subject historically, scientifically, and anecdotally. The book, therefore, has in it not only information but incident, for the history of the diamond has both romance and tragedy connected with it. There are photographs of the great diamonds of the world, portraits of famous potentates adorned with jewels in profusion, and other pictures. (The John Lane Company, New York. $2.)

As the name indicates, "Sixtine Rome," by J. A. F. Orbaan, has to do with that part of Rome connected with the name Sixtus—especially the various memorials to Sixtus V. Both from an architectural and a historical point of view, the pontificate of this particular Sixtus was of great interest, and the present volume should be a distinct help to the serious visitor to Rome in affording him an atmosphere and a very leisurely point of view not found in the guide-books. (The Baker & Taylor Company, New York. $2.50.)

The late Archibald Little was a merchant who lived fifty years in China. He was equally a scholar and traveler, especially the latter, for he traveled not only in China but *with* the Chinese and among the Chinese. The present autobiographical volume, "Gleanings from Fifty Years in China," shows the wide range of Mr. Little's observation. The essays collected in the book are extremely varied in topic and character. We have only one fault to find with the volume: it does not inform us as much as we would like concerning the anti-foot-binding movement—a movement which owes its inception to Mr. Little. (The J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia. $2.50.)

The latest addition to the happily conceived "Friendly Library" is "The Book of Love," a selection, from all forms of literature in prose and verse, of spirited, classic, or picturesque expressions and interpretations of the master passion. The titles of the subdivisions—"First Love," "Famous Lovers," "Love's Comedies, Adventures, and Tragedies," "Love Letters," "Love's Philosophy," and "Love Triumphant"—suggest the range and purpose of this selection, introduced by Madison Cawein in half a dozen pages of sympathetically written prose. (The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.25.)

Though nearly forty years have passed since the Tribunal of Arbitration at Geneva disposed of the Alabama Claims, a detailed account of the case is of interest, especially as a basis of comparison with the many arbitral decisions that have occurred since 1872. Such an account, well written, is furnished by Mr. Frank Warren Hackett, secretary to Caleb Cushing, senior American counsel in the Alabama Case, and is published under the title "Reminiscences of the Geneva Tribunal of Arbitration." (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $2.)

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LETTERS TO THE OUTLOOK

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

I read with interest your editorial on the defeat of your (New York) Workmen's Compensation or Employers' Liability Law. I do not think your court of last resort would sustain such a law as you suggest as a substitute for the defeated one—for this reason: There is a legal maxim substantially as follows: "One cannot do indirectly what he is prohibited from doing directly." To quote from the Northern Securities Case, the Court said: "To hold otherwise would be to sustain a transaction illegal in its character, accomplished by indirection, when it could not be done if the methods were direct." Forcing the employer to take out a license and give bond to secure payment of compensation for injuries sustained by workmen would still be depriving the employer of property without due process of law.

EDGAR A. HALL.

340 Dearborn Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

[One of the Justices in the Court of Appeals case suggests that the Legislature could repeal all charters since the Constitution of 1846, and require as a condition of a new charter the consent by the corporations to a Workmen's Compensation Act. This would be a more drastic measure than the one The Outlook proposed. Would it not be subject to the same criticism by our correspondent? —THE EDITORS.]

PROTECT BIRD AND BEAST—AND MAN

Twenty years ago, in Labrador, the Arctic curlew visited us in clouds that at times were described as blackening the sky. Now a State ornithologist has offered me fifty dollars for a single skin. In a Connecticut house I noticed this week a tall case of the common birds. It was a perfect blaze of color and the most beautiful thing in the house. Scarlet tanagers, orioles, bluebirds, red-breasted grosbeaks, etc. It had stood in the corner over fifty years. If every voter in America could have seen it, he would have felt that, in order to make these birds common, hardly any effort would be too great. My imagination was stirred to the depths to think what a paradise this country would be if only every thicket were populated by these common birds, which we know are suited to the environment. I understand that there is a bitter contest now being waged between milliners and hat decorators against the Audubon Society. Can no laws be made to assist? The public is willing to pay thousands of dollars to procure a painted canvas by some long-dead artist, when these exquisite gems of living nature are being allowed to be destroyed.

To this I would add that, while all sport appeals to me, and I realize its value in stimulating men to get out and do things, personally I deplore the destruction of animals which already have an environment hard enough to combat with, and which are practically the domesitc animals on which a section of the human race depends. The employment of steamers with fast motor boats to carry men with repeating rifles to destroy the walrus, the polar bear, the seals, and the musk-ox of the north, constitutes a serious menace to the permanence of the Eskimo race. Professor Lowe has shown the unintended cruelty of furnishing firearms to natives, who subsequently have been unable either to get ammunition or to use the native weapons on which formerly they were able to rely. It has spelled immediate extermination to certain tribes, according to Professor Lowe, and a word of warning might be said to the gradually increasing number of sportsmen going north who thoughtlessly destroy the necessities of life of the people up there. It is so easy now, in those large protected sealing steamers which are for hire in the season of open water, to reach Baffin Land, North Greenland, and Grantland that I want The Outlook to go on record, before it is too late, as at least a warning voice to those who, if they thought of it, would not, I am sure, for their own sport, imperil the very existence of people who are unable to live in any other environment. Here, again, what we need is more imagination.

WILFRED T. GRENFELL.

AN EXAMPLE FOR IMITATION

The rational and efficient administrative policy of Canada in the matter of immigration, as brought out in your paragraphs on the subject, is typical of the attitude of practically every new country except the United States.

The result of our flabby laws and feeble administrative policy is reflected in statistical facts showing that we get two or three times more immigrants than all other new countries, and the "cullings" at that. During the past ten years nearly ten million aliens have entered, and something like four to six or seven million have left. Out of last year's 1,198,000, less than sixteen thousand could be classified as "farmers," and only three hundred thousand could be called agricultural workers. Over eighty per cent of that almost one million and a quarter were destined for about one hundred congested cities and overcrowded labor centers of seven or eight Northeastern States. Less than eighteen per cent of last year's influx went to the thirty-six States and Territories south of the Potomac and west of the Mississippi Rivers, in spite of the efforts of private, State, and Federal distribution bureaus.

No one is advancing the idea of applying the Chinese and Japanese exclusion principle to European immigration. We have enacted a few laws, and thereby established the selective legislative and administrative principle towards that immigration in order to neutralize the steamships' profit-making selection of our immigrants. It is quite

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natural that they should seek the most profitable traffic as far as our laws would permit. The most profitable was the African slave, and the shift from that to Oriental coolies naturally followed, in due time, the abolition of the slave trade—which was, in effect, African exclusion. So, too, the Chinese Exclusion Acts were followed by another shift. Some men prefer an immigration that goes back—a cheap labor immigration, "birds of passage" immigration, and the one that can be handled the most economically. What is needed, and sorely needed, it would seem, is some such efficient immigration laws as were recommended by the Immigration Commission after its four years' investigation, and some such efficient and powerful administrative policy and executive direction as other new countries, such as Canada, Australasia, and the British South African Union, have for curbing the profit-making foreign steamship selection of our immigrants, both for our and the immigrants' own good.

J. H. PATTEN.

Washington, D. C.

NO LONGER ARROGANT

In reviewing the last edition of Bryce's "American Commonwealth" The Outlook says: "American readers will be glad to know that this disinterested and scholarly but always sympathetic observer thinks that 'in realizing herself as a World Power America has not become more arrogant or more combative.' We are inclined to think that she has become less so; that she has been sobered by her responsibilities."

In the career of almost every boy, no matter what his upbringing, there is a stage in his development, usually between the ages of eighteen and twenty-two, when he looks on the advice and opinions of his parents with suspicion and superiority. The length of this period varies much, but it is certainly a time of much trial to the elders, especially as the exhibitions of contradictoriness are preferably exploited in the presence of visitors. The pleasure of an evening visit to old friends has often been ruined by the antics of the "unlicked cub" of the house. On every subject broached he has to give his most decided opinion, and the opinions of his parents are freely contradicted or treated with lofty pity. Any attempts to curb his forwardness render him pettish or combative. Every one has met with these lads, and has left them wondering what sort of cantankerous men they will become. This is the true stage of hobbledehoy, neither man nor boy. The lad knows his own age in years, believes that he is a *man*, but feels that others may not know that he is such, and hence he asserts himself and behaves in a manner of which he is afterwards ashamed.

Nations are much like individuals, except that their development must be measured in terms of generations instead of years. When by force of arms the sons of Britain in America had broken from their parent, they knew that they were a nation, but until the Spanish-American War they had an uneasy feeling (which any patriotic citizen would have vigorously denied) that the other nations of the world, especially those in Europe, did not realize this fact. The average American was looking for slights; the average speaker indulged in spread-eagleism; the stump orator gayly twisted the lion's tail. An extreme instance of this fact was exhibited in a German university town many years ago. A party of Americans, Britons, and Germans were gathered to bid good-by to one of their friends. A German proposed the toast of the friend (a Briton) who was leaving, and ended an eloquent speech by reminding his hearers how the British and the Hanoverians had often fought side by side in battle. One American objected to the sentiment because they had also fought side by side against his people. It is pleasant to relate that the objector was promptly and efficiently silenced by his fellow-countrymen who were present.

Compared with European countries, America in the past was a country by itself. It interested itself but little in the affairs of the outside world. The adoption of that rather vague but very useful instrument, the Monroe Doctrine, gave America certain responsibilities which she felt could not be neglected. Great Britain had some dealings with Nicaragua regarding frontiers. The American Government made representations to Great Britain regarding these. To the British Government, harassed with world-wide cares and home troubles, the matter seemed trivial until Cleveland's famous message came like a bomb. The British, better acquainted with America than were other nations and participators in the benefits of the Monroe Doctrine, awoke fully to the fact that America was not only a Nation but a very mature one. The trouble was soon settled to the satisfaction of both parties. But had America awakened to the same fact? The politicians still indulged in spread-eagleism, still twisted the lion's tail. North of Mason and Dixon's line the orators still shouldered the musket to save the Union, south of that line they still poured oratorical hot shot into the hated Yankees. The war of secession had not ended after thirty years of peace. Then came the Spanish-American War. The North and South at once became one. A former rebel became a trusted general. Cuba was promised her freedom when she was ready for it, *and, what is more*, she received it. New responsibilities were assumed.

America had long known that she was a Nation, a very great Nation; now she knows and feels that other nations realize this fact. She has passed the stage of hobbledehoydom. She no longer suffers from apparent arrogance and combativeness. She has found herself.

JOHN BLANK.

Kansas City, Missouri.

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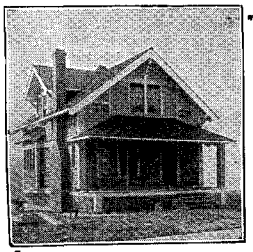

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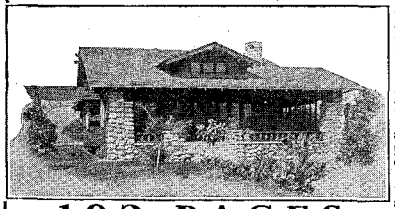

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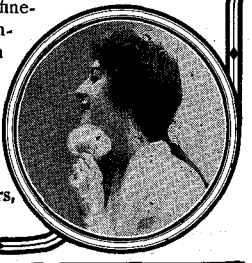

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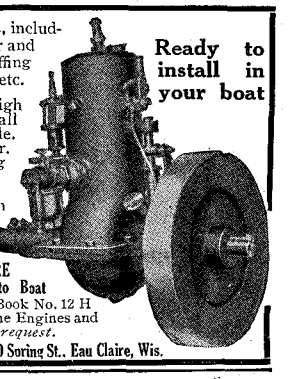

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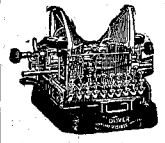

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